

ABSTRACT

Title of dissertation: *ALEGRIA: THE RISE OF BRAZIL'S
"CARNIVAL OF POPULAR PARTICIPATION,"
SALVADOR DA BAHIA, 1950 – 2000s*

Jerry Dennis Metz Jr., Doctor of Philosophy, 2012

Dissertation directed by: Professor Daryle Williams
Department of History

In the second half of the twentieth century, the annual carnival in the economically depressed northeastern city of Salvador da Bahia underwent a series of transformations that brought it from relative anonymity in Brazil—where festivities in the cities of Rio de Janeiro and Recife had long been given pride of place—to the status of (inter)national showpiece in terms of cultural and entrepreneurial innovation and touristic appeal. It became a dominant factor in year-round local music production. In an era of political constraint, it appeared to embody the collective performance of multiple democracies including race and free-market consumerism. New forms of popular participation were linked to innovations in carnival that, in other national carnival sites, would have been precluded by regulation and tradition. This dissertation draws from debates and analysis in Brazil's intellectual, policy, and media spheres regarding carnival, folklore, tourism, Bahian culture, mass culture, and national identity to argue that 1) the traits of creative spontaneity and popular participation in Salvador's carnival gained

prominence as both national ambivalence over “folklore” increased, and dictatorial regimes constrained political democracy; 2) the state, rather than discursively and economically controlling Salvador’s carnival, has more often reacted to artistic production and market forces, its hegemony configured through strategies of support and appropriation linked to tourism and an internally amplified social ethic of *alegria*; and 3) media and cultural commentators have made Salvador’s modern carnival a new locus for longstanding national conversations over Brazilian identity, regionalism, race, and cultural imperialism, casting its innovation as simultaneously a promising engine of renovation and a threat to both local and national traditions. Salvador carnival’s progressive implications of participation and inclusion have been blunted by a process of political redemocratization that was associated with neoliberal policies at the national and local levels; its internal contradictions and commercialism have challenged both its national and local symbolic power.

ALEGRIA:
THE RISE OF BRAZIL'S
“CARNIVAL OF POPULAR PARTICIPATION,” SALVADOR DA BAHIA,
1950 – 2000s

by
Jerry Dennis Metz Jr.

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Advisory Committee:

Professor Daryle Williams, Chair
Professor Janet Chernela
Professor Saverio Giovacchini
Professor Paul Landau
Professor Marc Hertzman

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Introduction

“To speak of Brazilian culture is, more than anything else, to confront an enigma that has followed us ever since we became an independent nation. The definition of national culture depends on how we answer, to ourselves and to the world, these questions: “Who are we?” and “What do we want for our country?”

Marcos Napolitano, 2001

The Who: “Join Together” (1971)

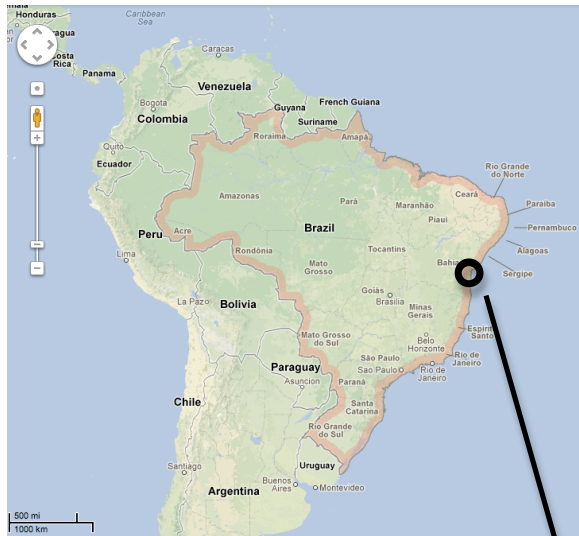
When you hear the sound a-coming,
Hear the drummers drumming,
I want you to join together with the band

Do you really think I care
What you read or what you wear,
I want you to join together with the band

There's a million ways to laugh,
And every one's a path,
Come on, join together with the band...

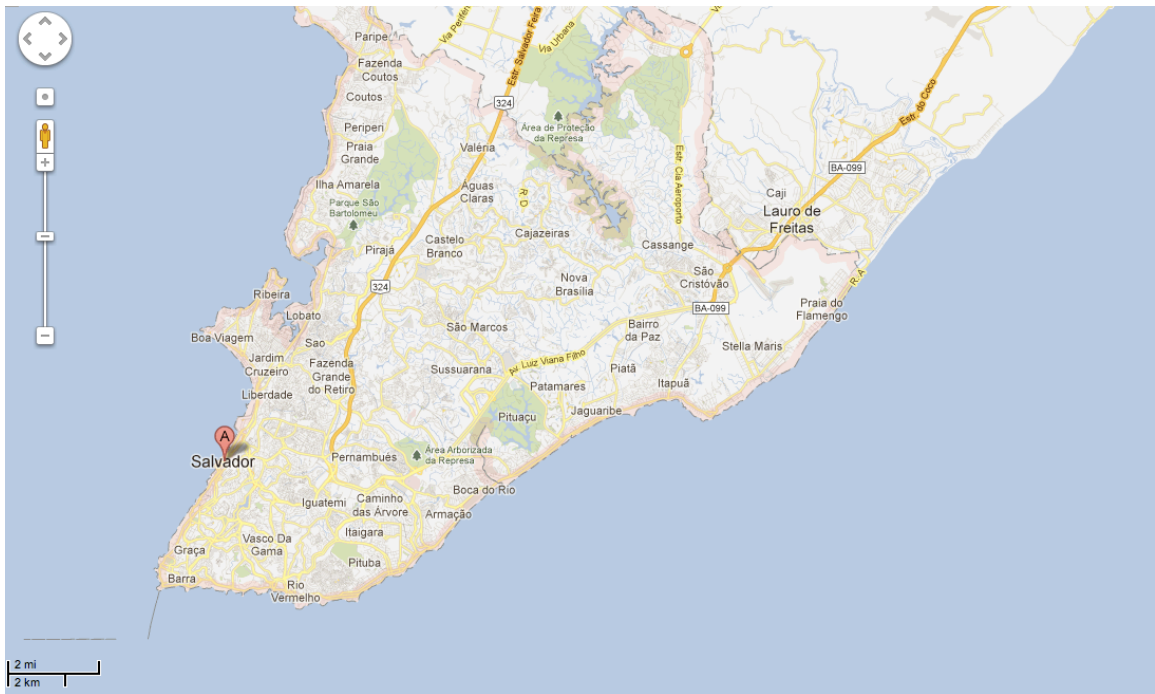
“The family that sings together, stays together.”

Osmar Macedo, co-creator of the *trio elétrico*, 1973



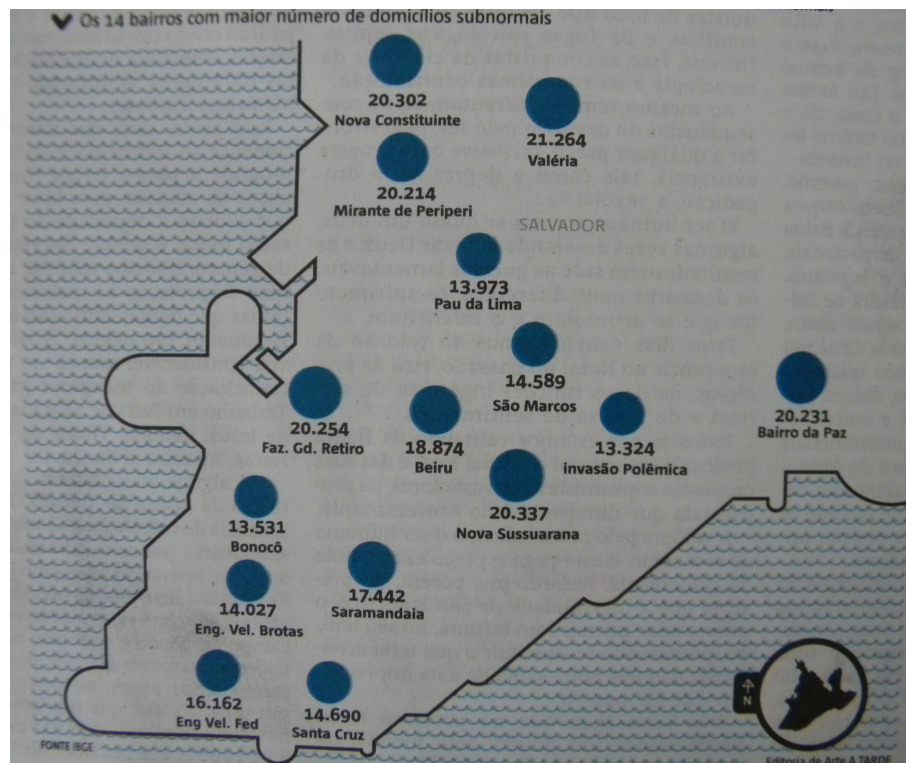
Map 1: Central Salvador da Bahia, with approximate current carnival routes. Source: Google Maps.





Map 2: Salvador metropolitan region. Source: Google Maps.

Map 3: Salvador metropolitan region with densest centers of subdeveloped dwellings.
Source: *A Tarde* 22 December 2011 / Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics.



The pre-Lenten festival of carnival (Portuguese: *carnaval*) is widely celebrated as a primary expression of Brazilian “national” culture. However, the familiar image of carnival—ornate samba schools parading through the Sambadrome, an elongated stadium built near downtown Rio de Janeiro in 1984 where judges take notes and banks of television cameras capture the glitter and celebrity for millions of viewers—can obscure tremendous regional variations in how carnival is experienced in the world’s fifth most populous country. In recent decades the annual festival in the northeastern city of Salvador da Bahia (commonly known as Salvador) has grown to break both expectations and national records in attracting nearly two million revelers annually (equal to two thirds of the city’s population), and for reasons of cultural creativity, touristic appeal and entrepreneurial force be heralded as perhaps Brazil’s most “Brazilian” carnival. The goal of this introductory chapter is to lay out a framework to explain how that shift happened, and what it meant. The literature review includes a discussion of how scholarship on carnival has developed since the pioneering work of Brazilian anthropologist Roberto da Matta starting in the 1970s.

Until the 1960s carnival in Salvador was considered to be a poor cousin of the samba school competitions and masked balls associated with carnival in Rio; it also compared poorly to Recife, in nearby Pernambuco state, whose carnival was known for its folkloric richness as a showcase of regional traditions. Carnival in Salvador did not attract media or tourist attention. Nevertheless it had several characteristic features, such as automobile parades, samba groups, and elaborate themed presentations by elite clubs. Perhaps most distinctive were processions of Afro-Bahian groups known as *afoxés*, and

the popular custom of home-made masks. But Salvador's relative anonymity among global carnival cities (including not only Rio and Recife but New Orleans, Port of Spain and Kingston) experienced a number of important changes in the post-war period. Starting in the 1950s, while a professionalizing class of folklorists debated whether carnival was genuinely Brazilian or not, artists and entrepreneurs associated with a local musical innovation known as the *trio elétrico* (electric trio), characterized by amplified bands playing hybrid music styles atop moving trucks and followed by unstructured crowds, merged with the interests of political bosses, tourism boosters, and cultural marketers to invent a celebration that in the early 1970s began to be hailed as a "Carnival of Popular Participation." By the 1990s, debates in national media over whether Salvador's carnival had successfully eclipsed Rio's primacy as Brazil's most representative carnival reflected a search for new national symbols in the context of political redemocratization, new receptivity to regional culture facilitated through the expansion of Brazil's culture (particularly music) industries, the rapid expansion of tourism, and the celebrity cachet of carnival musicians from Bahia.

Unlike in Rio or Recife, Salvador's carnival music, known by a number of labels including *axé music*, transcended carnival itself to become the city's popular music, breaking barriers in time and space by being performed in other events and festivals throughout the year, both in Salvador and in the numerous derivative "mini-carnivals" staged in Bahia state (starting in the early 1950s) and around the country, as well as being carried on national radio and recorded music markets. In 1993, one of Brazil's principal news magazines declared Salvador to have beat out Rio de Janeiro for pride of place as

the location of the nation's carnival.¹ Salvador's festival had also definitively usurped the discourse regarding collective, spontaneous participation that had been applied to Recife's carnival as a characteristic distinguishing it from Rio's by prominent folklorist Luis da Câmara Cascudo in 1954.²

This shift in the symbolic location of Brazil's carnival identity, I argue, reflected not only the power of local creativity in Salvador but wider changes in Brazilian society concerning the nature of democracy and of capitalism and consumerism, industrial "popular" culture, the leisure economy, and regionalism in national discourse. It resonated deeply within longstanding configurations of race relations and artistic modernity in Brazil. The rise and national success of Salvador's contemporary carnival, including its associated ideals of popular participation and its approaches to musical production, which was chart-topping in Brazil in the 1990s, derive from how the festival has been taken by observers and actors alike to engage three conceptions of democracy that, while contentious, ambiguous, and historically in flux, represent longstanding national values: the ideology of racial democracy (in which the people of Brazil and their cultural preferences are equal and free of prejudice); market democracy (in which the people act rationally to express preferences by voting with their labor and money); and political democracy (in which the people are construed as citizens with rights as well as responsibilities, notably in determining their governing institutions and leaders).³

¹ "A Bahia Ganhou: O Que Faz a Magia do País Baiano Explodir no Carnaval," *Veja*, 24 February 1993.

² Luis da Câmara Cascudo, "Carnaval," in *Dicionário do Folclore Brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Cultura, 1954), 157-8.

³ The festival was constructed along the pivot between two overlapping eras: in the midst of broadbased interest in the place of folklore in delineating true national identity in the 1950s and early 1960s, but also in a consolidating neoliberal period defined by what Nestor García Canclini describes as the increasing interpenetration of consumption and citizenship in Latin America (Canclini, *Consumers and Citizens: Globalization and Multicultural Conflicts* [Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001]). It also represented a distinct Latin American form of the "market populism" Thomas Frank critiques in which

The relationship between traditional culture and capitalism has been controversial and problematic in the carnivals of both Rio de Janeiro and Recife, but private investment in Salvador's festival was long more pervasive and open, leading to a central role for the market there at the same time economic and social changes in Brazil were fostering new attitudes and practices embracing consumption and the culture industry. This allowed the carnival to appear both more modern and more empirically "popular," even as private enterprise, notably large corporate actors, also played a central role in the festival's contours. A central case for this argument is the *trio elétrico*. From its origins in the early 1950s, *trio* performance was associated with mobile stages sponsored by businesses who used them as an advertising platform; later, private carnival clubs featuring *trio* bands would charge entry fees for membership, adding exclusivity to trendiness while offering captive audiences to advertisers. By the 1990s, global corporations were advertising heavily on these *trio* vehicles to get their brands in front of both consumers on the street, and people watching the carnival broadcast at home. The irony is that one of the inventors of the *trio elétrico* believed the *trio* was a form of folklore; he and his family have sharply critiqued the privatization of the "popular" festival they helped create.

At the same time, questions of citizenship and cultural expression in this period are complicated by the impact of a prolonged military dictatorship (1964-1985) that embraced the national ideology of racial harmony, yet engaged in repressive practices while pursuing a politics of industrial development and mass consumerism that engendered high rates of racialized economic inequality. With a black population estimated at eighty percent, Salvador da Bahia—called Brazil's "Black Rome" and often

markets are held to confer the popular will and confer democratic legitimacy that may lack in other spheres (Frank, *One Market Under God: Extreme Capitalism, Market Populism, and the End of Economic Democracy* [New York: Doubleday, 2000]).

hailed as the symbolic cradle of a Brazilian civilization founded upon the mixture of European, Amerindian, and African cultures—was a laboratory in the complex elaborations of market-driven cultural citizenship. The consolidation of Salvador’s carnival also took place within an era of other authoritarian regimes across Latin America and the rise of diverse youth movements whose interest in rock music was often taken as rebellious and anti-national.⁴ The *trio elétrico* served as a complex cultural mediator since its music relied on still-controversial amplified electric instruments, and by the 1970s was stylistically often merging into hybridizations with rock and roll. In 2001, a *trio elétrico* was featured at the massive Rock in Rio event, alongside global pop artists.

Salvador’s carnival became an attraction for Brazilian tourists and celebrities by the 1990s, and, as a ritualistic celebration of Bahian identity and a medium for idealizing the city through song, riddled with contradictions. The three democratic ideals Salvador’s carnival proposes also overlap in complex ways. For instance, Antonio Carlos Vovô, an Afro-Bahian activist who founded Ilê Aiyê, Salvador’s pioneering *bloco afro* (a type of carnival group expressing black themes, including African origins, and black pride) in 1974, complained of persistent racism not only locally but nationally, leading to the reluctance of corporate sponsors to invest in and advertise with the *blocos afro*: “They don’t want to be associated with us, and they ignore the potential returns. We buy televisions, refrigerators, we consume like everybody else.”⁵ However, by the early 1990s, Salvador’s carnival was also being interpreted by optimistic observers as a medium for the subaltern voice: a “stage for protest” for Afro-Bahians, a venue for

⁴ The case of Mexico has been ably analyzed by Eric Zolov, *Refried Elvis: The Rise of the Mexican Counterculture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999). For other historical and recent studies see also the volume *Rockin’ Las Américas: The Global Politics of Rock in Latin/o America*, eds. Deborah Pacini Hernandez, Héctor Fernández L’Hoeste, and Eric Zolov (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2004).

⁵ “A Experiência do Ilê na Coordenação do Carnaval,” *Bahia Análise & Dados* vol. 5 no. 4, March 1996.

effectively advancing their struggle for economic equality and full citizenship.⁶ Yet Ilê Aiyê had been called racist itself in national media for their policy of rejecting white membership.⁷ As one prominent Brazilian historian cautioned soon after, “It’s hard to do politics while dancing.”⁸ Indeed, similarly ambivalent displays of carnivalized subaltern alterity, or even ritualized revolutionary festivities, have been staged from Korea⁹ to Taos,¹⁰ South Africa¹¹ to New Orleans.¹² But even by the early 1970s, as the discourse of Salvador’s carnival of popular participation was cohering (the subject of chapter 4) during the most anti-democratic years of the military regime, a period also of economic growth, the subtexts of political and consumer choice were interpenetrating—one often addressing, or standing in for desires for the other.

What is carnival in the heat of Brazilian summer without a cold drink? Consider several period advertisements (figure 1a-e), hinting at how developments in Salvador’s carnival culture of the early 1970s were blurring lines between top-down “corporate” and ostensibly grassroots, bottom-up expression. The first four are from the 1950s and mid-1960s, and rely on longstanding advertising motifs, while the last one reflects influences from a carnival that was transforming in a different set of contexts. Figures 1a and 1b highlight exclusivity and refinement; famous Bahian musician Dorival Caymmi endorses

⁶ Christopher Dunn, “Afro-Bahian Carnival: A Stage for Protest,” *Afro-Hispanic Review* vol. 11 no. 1-3, 1992.

⁷ “Racistas são eles,” *Veja*, 25 May 1988.

⁸ João José Reis, “Aprender a Raça,” *Veja 25 Anos* supplement, 22 September 1993.

⁹ Sunny Jeong and Carla Almeida Santos, “Cultural Politics and Contested Place Identity,” *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 31 no. 3 (2003): 640-656.

¹⁰ Sylvia Rodriguez, “Fiesta Time and Plaza Space: Resistance and Accommodation in a Tourist Town,” *Journal of American Folklore*, vol. 111 no. 439 (Winter 1998): 39-56.

¹¹ Denis-Constant Martin, *Coon Carnival: New Year in Cape Town, Past and Present* (Claremont, South Africa: David Philip Publishers, 1999).

¹² Joseph H. Guillotte, III, “Every Man a King: Reflections on the Aesthetics of Ritual Rebellion in Mardi Gras,” *Plantations Society in the Americas*, vol. 3 nos. 1-2 (1993): 33-46. Speaking in reference to the King Zulu Carnival Club, whose members are African-American and parade in blackface and jungle garb, a university professor enthused “There’s nothing in the South as important as being White or Negro, and you can’t have an all white Carnival or the whiteness wouldn’t show.”



Figure 1a: *Diário de Pernambuco*, 21 February 1957.

Figure 1: Drink Advertisements and the Carnivalization of Popular Choice.



Figure 1b: *A Tarde* (Salvador), 24 February 1958.

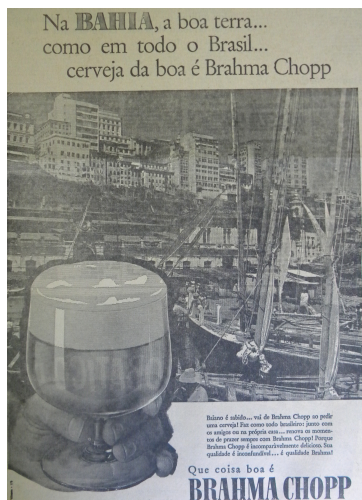


Figure 1c: *Jornal do Commercio* (Recife), 16 December 1965.



Figure 1d: *A Tarde* (Salvador), 11 February 1956.

Figure 1e: *Diário de Notícias* (Salvador), 18 February 1971.



Merino brand rum, while an invisible elite (identified only by his ownership of a motorboat and elegant tastes) enthuses “Before Samba, I never served *cachaça*.” Figure 1c links Salvador—recognized by a characteristic image of the upper and lower cities, but one rigidly formal in its minimization of human subjects—to the rest of Brazil through the encouraged consumption of Brahma beer. 1d asserts a connection between carnival revelry and *guaraná*, even though revelers themselves have been banished from a severe abstraction of carnival’s collective jollity that instead forefronts disembodied objects (a banner and soft-drink bottle). The final image, 1e, is from 1971, and ran in a local paper. Saborosa, a Bahian rum company, had created its own branded *trio* vehicle shaped like a bottle to parade in Salvador’s carnival. The vehicle and its band were received with an animated public response on the streets in the early 1970s; crowds would even sing along with the company’s jingles as performed by the band. The claim that Saborosa “won the popular preference” suggests both a spontaneous, grassroots victory of this *trio* in public reception independent of any imposed artifices of official judging, and a subtext that the drink is itself popular. The image is welcoming in its depiction of anonymous consumer-merrymakers that cannily does not include the product itself, implying that the people, not big business, the state, or any other agent, are the ones responsible for carnival’s unique verve; but the implications of “popular preference” remained ambivalent at a time of highly constricted political rights in Brazil.

Since the 1970s, carnival in Salvador has consolidated a number of significant achievements: It has become the vehicle for a distinct identity for the city; it has come to increasingly orient the city’s year-round cultural and economic calendars; and it is understood to be the carnival that best reflects the nation back to itself. As a space of

“public participation,” Salvador’s carnival is a performance of multiple democracies with new, mass-mediated claims to both national primacy and regional specificity. This derives from three principal factors. First, the inventive energy of Salvador’s carnival, represented by the creation of the *trio elétrico* performance medium in 1951 and the gradual shift in the city’s cultural production away from established regional music genres and traditional nationalist symbols, eventually worked in complex synergy with local tourism initiatives and a shared traditional vocabulary of tropes to describe and advertise local identity. Second, the discourse of carnival’s popular participation and democratization, a product of both local pride in an emerging nationally distinct carnival and the wider repressive circumstances of the dictatorship imposed in 1964, came to be appropriated by the authoritarian regime as well as civil society actors who looked to reinvent the Brazilian vocation for democracy in a context of constraints. Third, through the growth of Brazil’s culture industries and leisure economies from the 1970s onward, the innovation, celebrity, and free-market power of Salvador’s carnival became an institution generating a range of successful cultural export products rooted in local carnival music and the carnival experience.

While the *trio elétrico* vehicle, born as a performance platform and medium of celebration free to all revelers, came to be adopted by entrepreneurial private carnival clubs, the descendants of its creators struggle for sponsorship each year for their independent *trio* which is open for anyone to follow on the street. Their model, including sharp critiques of carnival’s capitalization and a call for public funding of carnival attractions to level the playing field, has been rejected by the more business-minded artists as well as ranks of cultural administrators (both private and public) who see

carnival as an engine of economic growth. Indeed, part of the broad allure of Salvador's carnival and its hybrid musical styles (notably a genre born in the late 1980s known as *axé music*, combining Afro-Bahian percussion and rhythms with electrified Caribbean elements such as reggae) was the way it seemed to portray a new form of racial conciliation and cooperation that was also a professionalizing system linking carnival to tourism and the music industry, providing economic rewards to all local producers, independent of skin color, who found commercial success on the open market. Lyrically, *axé music* drew on a series of celebratory and conflict-averse tropes that are taken as characterizing the state's unique culture—and which, through the reification of tourism propaganda, have come to emphasize happiness, festivity, and hospitality.¹³

The original *trio elétrico*, Dodô & Osmar, led today by the sons of Osmar, were instrumental in the evolution of a distinct carnival identity of the city. But they do not fit the above paradigm for three reasons: First, they insist on the centrality of *frevo*, a music and dance form originating in the nearby state of Pernambuco—home to Recife, a carnival competitor—to the authentic music of the *trios*.¹⁴ But few other artists or city boosters are willing to acknowledge the historical role or continuing place of *frevo* in what has been constructed as an autochthonous genre of music, totally original to Bahia. Second, the measure of success and vitality in Salvador's carnival adopted by officials, musicians, and observers is market share and revenue from consumers (including tourists and private sponsors), which an independent *trio*, performing for the public for free, can only marginally attain. Third, and related to the foregoing, is the fact that the original *trio*

¹³ Roque Pinto, "Como a Cidade de Salvador Empreende a Produção de Exótico Através do Texto da Baianidade," Masters thesis, Federal University of Bahia (2001).

¹⁴ This connection stems from the *trio*'s origins, when the founders were inspired to mount a vehicle to play their electric instruments after witnessing a Pernambucan *frevo* group perform on the streets of Salvador.

often relied for support on a controversial conservative politician in Bahia, Antônio Carlos Magalhães (1927-2007), a modern *colonel* figure who bluntly used populist appeals and patronage in the cultural sphere to build his base among Salvador's large, principally black underclass. As this carnival grew in an era marked by an increasingly unpopular dictatorship followed by the transition to political democracy and redoubled commitments to neoliberalism, associations with politicians (especially one who had actively supported the regime) were regarded as unseemly and a throwback to the past. This attitude has roots in the consolidation of the discourse of popular participation starting around 1970, when ostensible autonomy from the state presence in centralizing and regulating carnival, traits which typified the festivals in Rio and Recife, was hailed as one of Salvador carnival's defining characteristics. Thus the paradox for contemporary Salvador: that its founding *trio*, the innovation which transformed the city's culture and economy, is now both praised and marginalized in the carnival scene.

This dissertation begins by considering how different forces, initiatives and actors associated with a national folklore movement, the state, and the market, shaped and defined carnival in Salvador and other Brazilian cities between 1950 and the 1970s. It then analyzes how the meanings of Salvador's carnival began to consolidate along the discourse of popular participation and how the festival has been staged for locals and tourists alike, through the prisms of the state, the market, and cultural production. I propose two arguments: first, Salvador's carnival organizations (especially private clubs formed around particular *trio* bands) have emerged as formidable free-market agents of cultural products and economic growth, through the commercialization and mass-mediation of local traditions; second, government intervention in Salvador's carnival is

relatively indirect for financial and ideological reasons, but state interest in tourism and social control contributes to a carnivalization of Salvador's official image and daily life—including attempts to foster attitudes of receptivity and hospitality as fundamental aspects of authentic local identity. By the 1980s, carnival artists and entrepreneurs were generating Salvador's musical identity through local studios and radio stations linked to carnival music production, rather than seeing samba musicians in faraway Rio de Janeiro define it nostalgically; the city was constructed as an exciting destination, with carnival singers inviting Brazilians (and the whole world) to come visit.

I consider how carnival in Salvador emerged within pre-existing Brazilian debates surrounding authentic culture and national/regional identity, looking at two other cities: Rio de Janeiro and Recife—the traditional powerhouses and symbolic references of Brazilian carnival—to provide context and counterpoint for Salvador's experience. Also, tracing the distinct local re-creations of, and arguments for and against, Rio-style samba schools in the carnivals of both Recife and Salvador in the 1960s and 1970s provides another index for analyzing regional specificity as it contended with national symbols and ideals, including racial democracy. The modern history of inter-regional diffusion of carnival culture in Brazil also features controversy and discord, whether it was the attempts to reject Rio-style samba schools in Recife and Salvador, criticism of the influence of Salvador's *afoxés* in Recife, or the move away from Pernambucan *frevo* by most of Salvador's carnival artists in the late 1980s. In that sense it is notable that, even as Salvador's carnival was discursively praised in various quarters as the nation's carnival, its characteristic form of *axé music* has rarely been copied outside Bahia (although the

ostensibly politicized and racially conscious *afoxés* and *blocos afro* were), even if Brazilians around the country avidly bought recordings.

Since the 1970s, the innovations of Salvador's carnival, both form and content, have been embraced but also rejected by consumers, critics, cultural actors, and politicians across Brazil. Meanwhile, local observers have watched the growth of carnival with varying responses of admiration and alarm. An increasing emphasis in contemporary Brazil on local culture and regionalism, partly as an effect of globalization's reassertion of localism and also amplified by tourism initiatives and related cultural policy, feeds fears that Salvador's carnival itself represents a new threat to "traditional" Brazilian identity, embodied in diverse cultural and historic patrimony viewed as needing to be protected from its influences—even within the state. Critics in Recife and Rio de Janeiro qualify the victory of Salvador's carnival by discounting its innovations or contextualizing them in longstanding tropes of "othering" Bahia as a separate country with cultures and values foreign to the Brazilian nation.

Salvador, Brazil's first colonial capital, has historically been cast as a provincial preserve of picturesque local traditions amidst material backwardness and political corruption. Recent scholarship argues it was constructed as a timeless "living museum." But reflecting wider national changes, its carnival has transformed it into a global city, a symbol of innovative Brazilian cultural capital and the festive performance of democracies—even as the market dimensions of cultural citizenship, expanding over a long-established bedrock of inequality and political corruption, constrain a large majority of its residents to poverty. The result is that many locals are excluded from the privatization of the street enacted by business-minded carnival groups (those also with

the most prestige and media cachet), and it seems not unrelated that violence and crime—a chronic part of the urban texture—also regularly invade carnival, leading to more new initiatives to offer private spaces for the safety of wealthier revelers. While the city itself often loses money on staging carnival, based on amounts of private investment versus expenditure (an allegation it denies by citing figures representing carnival's economic impact as a whole) and some critics suggest the entire festival has become a mechanism to enrich a few major players in the culture and infrastructure sectors, an independent 2009 study (addressed in chapter 4) found the shocking result that only 19% of Salvador's residents over fourteen years of age participated as revelers in carnival that year. The citizen-consumers of Salvador's carnival of popular participation were overwhelmingly tourists from other parts of Brazil or from abroad, at the same time that its attractions seemed to flirt excessively with international styles and artists. All of this led to new questions (or rather, the new application of old questions that have long hovered over other Brazilian carnivals) regarding the authenticity of the local festival, as well as attempts by the state heritage institution to both preserve aspects of its Afro-Bahian manifestations viewed as cultural patrimony and to intervene in other carnival enclaves outside the city itself, where tradition was seen as at risk of yielding to the commercial and homogenizing influences of Brazil's carnival of popular participation.

Given the historical and geographic span of research, and the difficult nature of researching festive culture, the sources I draw from are diverse: from archival materials of folklorists to tourism literature; from period newspapers reporting on carnival to the lyrics, sounds, and packaging of commercially recorded LPs. The historiographical framework from which this dissertation draws and in which it intervenes includes three

general, overlapping areas: Brazilian carnival; folklore and the Brazilian folklore movement; tourism and place marketing. All will be considered in turn in the following discussion, particularly as each deals with identity construction, the market, and the role of culture (or cultures) as an historical force in creating, challenging, and advertising both national and regional symbols—intercut with the influences of the state. But by way of preface to a brief survey of the relevant literature, a more fundamental issue might first be addressed. Because this dissertation is concerned with debates over carnival and Brazilian national identity, it is reasonable to begin with the question: When and how did a festival founded on diverse European precedents (Portuguese, Italian, French, and Spanish) become Brazil's own in the first place? While there was and is considerable diversity in the carnival experience across Brazil, when did a sense of "national" carnival emerge?

As an inquiry into the Brazilian historiography on carnival and national identity, the answer at first seems relatively clear. Most scholars focus on the first few decades of the twentieth century as critical to the popular and official reconfiguration of European influences into a festival recognized as Brazilian.¹⁵ This process involved the regulation or prohibition of some practices (by 1850 the messy Iberian *entrudo* tradition, in which revelers pelted each other with wax balls full of flour or putrid water and soaked each other with syringes). But also the later adaptation of others, such as the Paris-based masked balls or the luxurious Venice-influenced street parades of private clubs. Whatever the form of celebration, the wide embrace of carnival across Brazilian territory offered a way to reach people, unite them in time, and meld a sense of inclusion to revelry. There was an official de-emphasis of carnival's connections to the divine, as marking the period

¹⁵ Representative works include André Diniz, *Almanaque do Carnaval* (Rio de Janeiro: Zahar, 2008); Maria Isaura Pereira de Queiroz, "Carnaval Brasileiro: da Origem Européia ao Símbolo Nacional" (*Ciência e Cultura* 39:8, 8/1987); Lisa Shaw, *The Social History of the Brazilian Samba* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999).

before lent; a religious ritual was resignified as a celebration of the nation-state, across burgeoning communications networks. Carnival was profoundly assisted in this nationalization by its association with a new national musical form, samba, by the late 1920s. If elaborately costumed elites had twirled to the foreign strains of the polka in late nineteenth-century European-style balls, it was the samba—a local music that hybridized elements of the *maxixe*, military marches, and Afro-Brazilian syncopation—that brought “Brazilian” people together dancing in the streets during purportedly genuine Brazilian carnival a generation later.¹⁶ The literature foregrounds thus not only the diverse personalized experience(s) of carnival as ritual, but the historical development of ostensibly autochthonic national practices (music and dance) and their link to carnival in an era marked by populist initiatives to enlist culture in the promotion of nationalist sentiment. But how national really was the samba, in its carnival forms? Could other music styles (or carnivals) also be constructed as national, versus merely regional? How have the processes of nationalization of festive culture changed? Such uncertainties represent the present stage of research, to which this dissertation addresses itself.

Theorizing Carnival and Nation

Across a range of Brazilianist literature, the carnival of Rio de Janeiro has been taken to be synonymous with Brazilian carnival. As early as 1924, modernist poet Oswald de Andrade (1890-1954) proclaimed in his iconic “Manifesto Pau-Brasil” that “the Rio carnival is the religious event of the race;”¹⁷ in context, the line does not refer narrowly to religion’s spiritual or devotional dimensions (which may involve quiet, individual introspection) but more broadly to a nation born through dancing, a ritualized

¹⁶ John Charles Chasteen, “The Prehistory of Samba: Carnival Dancing in Rio de Janeiro, 1840-1917,” *Journal of Latin American Studies* vol. 28 no. 1 (1996): 28-47.

¹⁷ Oswald de Andrade, “Manifesto Pau Brasil,” *Correio da Manhã* (Rio de Janeiro), 18 March 1924.

and collective patriotic apotheosis to the driving beat of the samba during Rio's carnival. This perception underlies the analysis made fifty years later by Brazilian anthropologist Roberto da Matta, who, in emphasizing the significance of Rio's carnival to Brazilian identity, affirmed that it was the prototype for all other carnivals throughout Brazil.¹⁸ In his pioneering *Carnavais, Malandros e Heróis* (1979), Da Matta argued that carnival was a special moment of deeply egalitarian *comunitas* in which, through the donning of *fantasias*—literally “fantasies,” but also “costumes” in Portuguese—and losing oneself in the crowd's shared exuberance, including spontaneous romantic encounters in public, the impersonal and hostile street is transformed to an intimately domesticized sphere; class and racial (one could add gender) divides are transcended temporarily and the Brazil that Brazilians actually wish their nation could be is briefly manifest.¹⁹ His framework relies not only on the paradigmatic importance of Rio's carnival (based on the assumption that Brazil as a nation could logically only have one form of carnival) but also on the idea, deriving from Bakhtin, that carnival creates an inversion of quotidian social relations and values and in so doing reveals truths about society that might be masked in daily life because they are too obvious to be noted.

Until recently, Rio de Janeiro so dominated the academic analysis of Brazilian carnival that both Roberto da Matta and one of his prominent critics, Maria Isaura Pereira de Queiroz, could still concur that Rio's was the deepest, most prototypical example of

¹⁸ It seems not unrelated that his influential essay “Carnaval como um Rito de Passagem” (*Ensaio de Antropologia Estrutural* [Rio de Janeiro: Vozes, 1973]) begins with an excerpt from Lamartine Babo's 1933 carnival *marcha* “História do Brasil” with the lines “Who was it who invented Brazil? / It was Senhor Cabral, it was Senhor Cabral... / Two months after carnival.” The song whimsically poses carnival as an antecedent to the invention of Brazil, by implication an important first step towards nationhood in all but the political sense. Babo's song was later analyzed in the context of period popular music by Bryan McCann, *Hello Hello Brazil: Popular Music in the Making of Modern Brazil* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 1-4.

¹⁹ Roberto da Matta, *Carnavais, Malandros, e Heróis: Para uma sociologia do dilema brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro: Zahar Editores, 1979).

the nation's carnivals, the "apogee" of the festivals, and the only one that needed to be studied in order to draw broad cultural, historical conclusions.²⁰ The notion of another carnival surging to national visibility and relevance was so far from da Matta's mind that he joked in 1985, during a meditation on the slang phrase "*um carnaval legal*" (with *legal* meaning both legal, and good / fun / cool, et cetera), that as a reflection of Brazilian society Rio's carnival was itself shot through with an excess of rules and regulations; and that an alternative festival could likely only come about "by decree."²¹ And as late as 1988, just a few years before Salvador's carnival would undergo its national boom, Julie Taylor argued again for the dominance of Rio's carnival as a venue for cementing national identity in the northern state of Piauí. There, the people were "thirsty for recognition from their compatriots as full-fledged Brazilians," so they created their own Rio-style carnival with samba schools as a gesture of cultural alignment which had "particular importance for both *piauienses* and other Brazilians."²² However, Taylor does not take Rio's carnival unproblematically to be a genuine symbol of Brazilian identity. Still, she critiques the contemporary nature of Rio's carnival, in a manner common also to Brazilian observers, by juxtaposing it to an ostensibly more authentic, traditional golden age. She argues that what allows Rio's carnival to travel and be embraced in other regions is its new simplicity in the dance, as more outsiders get involved; its theatrical visuality, versus true "danced" essence, which was lost alongside the rise of video

²⁰ Maria Isaura Pereira de Queiroz, *Carnaval Brasileiro: O Vivido e o Mito* (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1992), 24, 214-5.

²¹ Roberto da Matta, "Um carnaval legal!" in *Explorações: Ensaio de Sociologia Interpretativa* (Rio de Janeiro: Rocco, 1986), 74-6. Elsewhere, he argued that in Brazil, no one wants to be "merely a citizen," because such a person is one who must follow all the nation's laws since (s)he lacks wealth, prestige, or personal connections. See da Matta, "The Quest for Citizenship in a Relational Universe" in *State and Society in Brazil: Continuity and Change*, eds John D. Wirth, Edson de Oliveira Nunes and Thomas E. Bogenschield (Boulder: Westview Press, 1987), 307-335.

²² Julie Taylor, "Carnival, Media, and Regional Traditions: Integration and Manipulation in Brazil," *Studies in Latin American Popular Culture*, 7 (1988): 191-7.

cameras and the spread of televisions in the 1950s and 1960s; and the increasing presence of middle-class aesthetics in the schools, as they rely on hired specialists (professional *carnavalescos*) to choreograph and develop chosen themes.

Da Matta deserves credit for elevating the subject of Brazilian carnival to the level of scholarly inquiry, something that folklorists Edison Carneiro and Katarina Real attempted in the 1950s and 1960s with far less effect on the academy.²³ The contributions by da Matta also include an examination of the complexity of carnival song,²⁴ and attempts (even if brief, perhaps overly formalistic, and unacquainted with Brazil's regional carnival variations) to contrast the way Rio's carnival functions socially in Brazil with what Mardi Gras of New Orleans represents and reveals about the United States.²⁵ But his analysis, informed by Durkheim, Geertz, and structural anthropology's concept of ritual, contained no historical dimension. For example, da Matta examines the complex internal organization of the dominant samba schools, the carnival associations composed of mostly poor Afro-Brazilian residents of improvised communities in Rio's hilly northern zone and suburbs, in fine detail and interprets these groups as embodying his postulate of deep *comunitas*. He suggests that the schools' members, the "blacks and

²³ Bruce Ergood, declaring memorably that "Even the most illiterate foreigner—who cannot identify Brasília or the Amazon—knows that Brazil has carnival," asks why mid-20th century Brazil scholars such as Fernando de Azevedo, Vera Kelsey, T. Lynn Smith, Charles Wagley, and E. Bradford Burns did not address carnival in their major works; he speculates that carnival was perhaps viewed by these scholars as frivolous merriment, lacking broader historical or social meaning in political or economic frameworks. He also suggests that, among early Brazilian scholars, prejudice against the "lower class African" influences in carnival may have played a role in essentially writing carnival out of received Brazilian history. Ergood, "Os Blocos de Santa Rita do Sapucaí: Carnival Clubs in a Small Brazilian City: More than Culture Producers." *Studies in Latin American Popular Culture* 10, 1991; 141-158.

²⁴ Roberto da Matta, "O poder mágico da música de carnaval (Decifrando "Mamãe Eu Quero)," in *Conta de Mentiroso: Sete Ensaios de Antropologia Brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro: Rocco, 1994), 59-89.

²⁵ "O carnaval como um rito de passagem," 163-5. His style of argument tends to postulate the existence of dualisms, rather than interrogating or explaining them. If "the central point of Rio's carnival" is to ritually make visible the equality of people and groups that, in Brazil's daily life, are considered unequal, the opposite is true in Mardi Gras: there, the force of carnival acts to invert the construct that all Americans are truly equal, by staging hierarchical parades of *krewes* obviously segregated by class and race.

poor (*pretos e pobres*)” marginalized in daily life, are during the special days of carnival received by broader society as “doctors and professors... compensating for their socio-economic inferiority with a visible and indisputable carnivalesque superiority.” This interpretation, which lent a veneer of academic credibility to the hegemonic view of Brazil as a racial democracy, ignores the fact that the samba schools had only existed as such since the 1920s. It also missed the ensuing question of why and how they might have developed the way they did, when they did, in the context of other influences, including the state or tourism. Carnival as a national rite of passage appeared to have emerged fully formed, spontaneously, to the satisfaction of orthodox Brazilian values emanating from Rio de Janeiro. For da Matta, carnival was an equalizing ritual that rejected the intrusions of political or sectarian discord.²⁶

This analysis of carnival as national *comunitas* was long influential, although freighted with essentialism. Brazilian folklorist Luís da Câmara Cascudo, writing in the 1950s, was also concerned with delineating the national character, but he was more sensitive to dynamism: “From the folkloric and ethnographic perspective, carnival provides an *annual* index of genuine elements of collective psychology,” presumably also with some regional cleavages as he distinguished the carnival experiences of Rio and Recife.²⁷ Without more careful definition da Matta’s notion of the collective appears to pre-assume the idea of the nation as homogeneous unit, and in so doing calls to mind other historical-cultural analyses—such as Siegfried Kracauer’s more sensitive attempts to comprehend German film’s relationship with “collective dispositions” and the

²⁶ *Carnavais, Malandros, e Herois*, 89, 128.

²⁷ Emphasis added. Luís de Câmara Cascudo, “Carnaval,” in *Dicionário do Folclore Brasileiro*.

“psychological pattern of a people at a particular time.”²⁸ Kracauer, and da Matta, can be critiqued for inadequate use of available evidence.²⁹ But while carnival like cinema relies on commercial bases, it is dispersed among regions in Brazil—where there is also the perception that subjective experience of the festival and active participation in creating its revelries go hand in hand. Robert Stam criticized da Matta for idealizing carnival’s social circumstances, failing to acknowledge “the extent to which black and white, rich and poor, men and women... live *distinct* carnivals.”³⁰ My dissertation does not try to explain the success of Salvador’s carnival by asserting how (or whether) it actually does or does not embody national identity, but considers how its success implies that it offered new solutions for both longstanding and contemporary problems which were shared in diverse ways by people throughout the nation. In the rush to deconstruct certain national symbols, there is a risk of exaggerating their prior constructedness and imposed origins: e.g., Milton Moura asserts samba’s important role “in the fabrication of a national image of Brazil,”³¹ but samba would never have been so widely and passionately embraced if it did not manage to speak to so many different audiences and producers, seemingly addressing their concerns about—if not the nation they had—the nation they wanted.

But the problem of how the ritual of carnival itself may relate to the nation, i.e. carnival’s involvement with cultural nationalism, is complex. For one thing, content influences form. That is nowhere more evident than how technology (gas-powered

²⁸ Siegfried Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler: A Psychological History of the German Film* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 8-9.

²⁹ A critique of Kracauer’s exclusive focus on the Ufa film studio is in Patrice Petro, “From Lukács to Kracauer and Beyond: Social Film Histories and the German Cinema,” *Cinema Journal* vol. 22 no. 3 (1983), 47-70.

³⁰ Robert Stam, “Carnival, Politics, and Brazilian Culture.” *Studies in Latin American Popular Culture* 7, 1988; 255-263.

³¹ Milton Moura, “World of Fantasy, Fantasy of the World: Geographic Space and Representation of Identity in the Carnival of Salvador, Bahia,” in *Brazilian Popular Music & Globalization*, eds. Charles A. Perrone & Christopher Dunn (New York: Routledge, 2002), 175 n. 4.

vehicles and electric instruments) transformed the way carnival in Salvador was celebrated and its public sphere conceived. But this can be seen earlier too, when, with the rise of the samba schools and samba music, Rio's carnival adopted new meanings, representations, modes of participation, and spatial patterns. This process recalls what Strother found in her study of the masquerade practice of the Pende people of Zaire. Rather than being a ritual marked by traditional "stasis," the creation and use of masks there is driven by invention, topicality, and the individual desire for fame; meanwhile, the masks' actual construction is secondary to, and directly shaped by, new dances and rhythms performed for the mask-maker.³² Strother's popular-culture analysis of this tradition, its themes of identity shifting and gender / generational relations, its subtexts of politics and current events, and the role of audience intervention in refining masquerade dramas, has numerous implications for studies of "carnival" in the widest sense. But in the world of Strother's festive ritual, the nation is notably absent. The social unit is the Central Pende, although Strother's method nicely demonstrates how "rural and urban dwellers inhabit the same world and time, grappling with many of the same problems."

It is not immediately clear how carnival, of all rituals, can represent the nation or summon it into being. For da Matta, carnival was both a "special moment" and an "institution" offering the ideal vision of Brazilian people transcending "race, creed, class, and ideology" to celebrate with the samba; the invention of Brazil itself depended (and depends) on carnival.³³ He carefully distinguished it from other public rituals that were explicitly civic or patriotic—orchestrated by elites to demonstrate social order and values, portraying theatrical embodiments of nationalist traits to reify the nation, even though

³² Z.S. Strother, "Invention and reinvention in the Traditional Arts," *African Arts* vol. 28 no. 2 (1995), 24-33+90.

³³ Da Matta, "Carnaval como um rito de passagem," 122-3.

nationalism “works” best when it is felt, implicit, inexplicable. Still, the officialization of the samba schools in Rio’s carnival and the explicitness of their being rendered “national” (through state endorsement and use of them in diplomatic presentations, as well as the requirement after 1936 for their songs to be patriotic celebrations of Brazil) thus seems to make that carnival occupy both types of ritual.

But neither does carnival easily assimilate into Benedict Anderson’s classic historical framework for the rise of nationalist sentiment in the Americas and the rise of nations as imagined communities.³⁴ True, carnival offers “calendrical simultaneity” and a sense of multiple comparable events across the state-defined territory. These have been increasingly secularized and detached from the religious sphere’s power of “cult value” in Walter Benjamin’s phrase, which potentially opens them to more direct associations with the nation-state—something Benjamin himself feared, in replacing one source of auratic, anti-democratic power with another.³⁵ A book on rituals and festivals in Mexico notes that they are not all controlled top-down to generate consent: the people can use them to “resist authority, envision alternatives to the status quo [and] generate new visions of the future,” all of which can be done through symbolic engagement with the state while not necessarily threatening the basic premise of a nation.³⁶ Carnival and other popular festivals thus fit within Roseberry’s notion of hegemony as a “field of force” through which subalterns may “recognize and address power even as [they] protest it... To the extent that a dominant order establishes not consent but prescribed forms for expressing both acceptance and discontent, it has established a common discursive

³⁴ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso), 1991.

³⁵ Walter Benjamin,

³⁶ William H. Beezley, Cheryl English Martin & William E. French, “Introduction: Constructing Consent, Inciting Conflict,” in *Rituals of Rule, Rituals of Resistance: Public Celebrations and Popular Culture in Mexico* (Wilmington: SR, 1994), xiii – xxxii.

framework.”³⁷ And as ritual, carnival is both within time and outside time. Daily life stops; other norms and values apply. Observers may compile chronologies of carnivals and culture producers, applying standards of nostalgia or authenticity lost. But carnival’s basic cyclical nature means in a certain sense that—as with mass culture, and perhaps prefiguring carnival’s receptivity to mass culture—“as with the simulacrum, there is no ‘first time’ of repetition, no original of which succeeding repetitions are mere copies.” Carnival also facilitates the production and consumption of images of the nation, even if the referent is missing.³⁸ But the growing scale and economic significance of contemporary Brazilian carnivals suggest they occupy what Debord called genuine pre-modern “cyclical time,” as well as industry-structured “pseudo-cyclical time” in which “it is still the spectacle that is to be seen and reproduced, becoming ever more intense.”³⁹

Anderson’s analysis of Spanish America has been critiqued by Claudio Lomnitz, who noted that in practice nationalism distinguished “full citizens from part citizens or strong citizens from weak ones (e.g. children, women, Indians),” an inequality embodied in how only the elite had full access to the “print capitalism”—newspapers, novels—Anderson cites as critical to the creation of national consciousness.⁴⁰ In that light, da Matta was right to argue that for modern Brazil, still marked by high indices of illiteracy and underdevelopment, popular music is a principal medium for “dramatizing politics,

³⁷ William Roseberry, “Hegemony and the Language of Contention,” in *Everyday Forms of State Formation*, eds. Gilbert M. Joseph and Daniel Nugent (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994).

³⁸ Fredric Jameson, *Signatures of the Visible* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 19-20. Read in light of how Jameson interprets Debord and “the society of the spectacle,” Jameson might be describing how carnival ritualizes not just the construction but the consumption of the nation: “We consume less the thing itself than its abstract idea, open to all the libidinal investments ingeniously arrayed for us by advertising” (12).

³⁹ Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*, trans. Fredy Purlman and John Supak (1977), especially chapters 139-155.

⁴⁰ Claudio Lomnitz, “Nationalism as a Practical System: Benedict Anderson’s Theory of Nationalism from the Vantage Point of Spanish America,” in *The Other Mirror*, eds. Miguel Centeno & Fernando López (Princeton University Press, 2001), 329-359.

social values, sexual roles, love, work, and power relations that, in traditional bourgeoisie societies, is provided by literature.”⁴¹ This is a far cry from what Habermas described (in perhaps too ideal terms) as a bourgeoisie “public sphere” in 17-18th century western Europe, in which informed citizens mediated state and private concerns through informed public debate, a process ultimately weakened by mass culture.⁴² On the other hand, later Brazilianists perhaps overestimate the inclusion and equality offered by so-called cultural or popular citizenship through music production / consumption in Brazil.⁴³

For the present study, the problem with Anderson’s analysis is also how it downplays persistent, actual regionalism—a centrifugal force away from the target of nationalism (as visible in modern Spain as in Brazil or Mexico) but that coexists with it in constitutive dialogue. Part of the issue lies in Anderson’s idea of the “vernacular” as becoming a national language as distinguished from Rome’s Latin, but which can also actually or in broader terms keep subdividing and splitting off into pockets of culture that chafe creatively at assimilating to a whole (the “whole” that, as Wade argues, may also be defined to exclude regions as it constructs them). This fractal process can be fostered by “administrative units” of not a national but a regional character, perhaps inherited from the colonial era but which evolve along separate lines from the goal of “national” administration through diverse historicized patterns of socioeconomic, political, and cultural change and integration. The imagined community of Brazil’s northeast—imagined within it, and imagined about it by the rest of the country—owes as much to legacies of colonial-era agricultural slavocracy as to modern environmental disaster and localized development policy. The framing of capitalism is also fundamental to this

⁴¹ Da Matta, “O poder mágico da música de carnaval,” 61.

⁴² Junger Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (Cambridge: MIT, 1991).

⁴³ McCann, *Hello Hello Brazil*, 11-12; Pereira de Queiroz, “Carnaval brasileiro,” 726.

dynamic. Anderson argued that capitalism had an “assembling” function on national vernaculars, creating “mechanically reproduced print-languages capable of dissemination through the market.”⁴⁴ That may be true. But capitalism also had an individualizing and “atomizing” function, dissolving group life, noted by Habermas and Jameson; Debord: “the forces of capitalism must be understood as tools for the making of separations.”⁴⁵ He critiqued how, in modern societies, “life presents itself as an immense accumulation of spectacles” which are not themselves images but “a social relation among people mediated by images,” its apparent unity actually false and subdividing.⁴⁶ For Ernest van den Haag, this was fostered by the creation of a lowest common denominator of average “popular” culture: “Movies, television, newspapers and magazines link vast, heterogeneous publics... They bring about some uniformity of attitude and a blending of customs and beliefs,” in which nationalist sentiment does not necessarily accompany industrialized “mass taste.” Indeed, even when people are physically together in one space, mass media abstracts each away to different mental, emotional places.⁴⁷

That capitalism can have diverse effects on the content and attitude of festival culture was shown by Canclini in a study of Indian fiestas in Mexico, which reveal how in each case the group enacts a ritual engagement with “the order that structures their

⁴⁴ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 44.

⁴⁵ *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere; Signatures of the Visible; The Society of the Spectacle*, chapter 171.

⁴⁶ “The spectacle presents itself simultaneously as all of society, as part of society, and as instrument of unification... it is the sector which concentrates all gazing and all consciousness. Due to the very fact that this sector is separate, it is the common ground of the deceived gaze and of false consciousness, and the unification it achieves is nothing but an official language of generalized separation.” Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*, trans. Fredy Purlman and John Supak (1977).

⁴⁷ Ernest van den Haag, “Of Happiness and Despair We Have no Measure,” in *Mass Culture: The Popular Arts in America*, eds. Bernard and David Manning White (New York: Harcourt, 1957): 504-536.

habits and hopes.”⁴⁸ For Canclini, fiestas change under capitalism, but do not disappear or become “corrupted;” participants’ cultural production can be fostered by it. Still, he assesses the degree to which the group controls the commercialization themselves or has it “imposed from outside” as an important marker of agency and resistance. However, the key element is who makes up these ritual events. They are small Indian and peasant villages; the nation-state of Mexico is entirely absent as the three groups in his case studies go about “staging fissures between the countryside and the city, between Indian and Western elements, their interactions and conflicts.”⁴⁹ Canclini suggests but does not analyze a contrast between these fiestas and “collective” ritual, of which he cites da Matta’s account of Brazilian carnival as example. This circularity leaves us suspended, as it were, between village, region, and nation, perceiving their relationships imperfectly (and inhabiting none of them). Another researcher argues of carnival in the Mexican city of Mérida, “It must be seen as a local event, not necessarily a reflection of the total, i.e. Mexican culture.”⁵⁰ Whether such a total culture exists or merely provides a useful comparative construct is not elaborated (and in fact many “national” ideals might not properly belong to any one nation, such as inclusion and equality). But what is important is the sense outside the literature on Brazil that festivals, including carnival, may by their nature be oppositional or indifferent to the nation. In that light, it seems not insignificant that in the early 1990s, as some Brazilian media praised Salvador’s carnival as the new “national” festival, the event’s economics were decentering the nation: the carnival was increasingly globalized and its associated music globally distributed, while its tourism

⁴⁸ Nestór García Canclini, *Transforming Modernity: Popular Culture in Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993), 101.

⁴⁹ Canclini, *Transforming Modernity*, 87.

⁵⁰ Bruce Ergood, “The Two Carnivals of Mérida,” *Studies in Latin American Popular Culture* 16 (1997).

economy (other than transport) was rooted in the city. National corporate investors were overshadowed by global ones. The nation was one aspect of a larger, and smaller, whole. But the history of Salvador's carnival also reveals that different regions in Brazil could make claims to best embody the complex national ideal of democracy in different ways.

Brazilian Carnival in the Literature

Expanded historical research, the cultural turn in history and anthropology, the rise of tourism studies, and growing transnational and diasporic interests have dramatically broadened the study of carnival in Brazil, and elsewhere.⁵¹ Among its revisions to da Matta is a more nuanced examination of national identity as a contested field, something not assumed but constructed (often in conflicting forms). For example, post-da Matta, a divergent approach to Rio's carnival as a ritualistic expression of national identity appears in the historiography, characterizing its rise as the product of deliberate populist cultural management under the first regime of president-dictator Getúlio Vargas (1883-1954), lasting from 1930 to the fall of the authoritarian New State in 1945. That it was carnival in Rio, and not elsewhere, which attracted most state interest is due to the city's being the then-national capital, a rapidly growing metropolis, a tourist attraction, and the base of Brazil's expanding culture industries. The samba schools were composed of mostly poor Afro-Brazilians, a vital population to recruit into the patriotic project of nation-building. The first samba school, Deixa Falar, was founded in 1928, and one author, Eneida Moraes, specifies the critical years for officializing modern Brazilian

⁵¹ Multidisciplinary interest in Atlantic carnivals drove the creation of an issue of *Social Identities* (vol. 16 no. 4, July 2010), including essays on Brazil, Trinidad, and Notting Hill, as well as historical analyses of Buenos Aires and Montevideo. The intersections between carnival, tourism, and local identity in pre-World War II Veracruz are explored by Andrew Grant Wood in "On the Selling of Rey Momo: Early Tourism and the Marketing of Carnival in Veracruz," in *Holiday in Mexico: Critical Reflections on Tourism and Tourist Encounters*, eds. Dina Berger and Andrew Grant Wood (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010). Effects of race and immigration on carnival in turn-of-the-century Buenos Aires are analyzed by Micol Siegel, "Cocoliche's Romp: Fun with Nationalism at Argentina's Carnival," *The Drama Review*, 44 no. 2 (2000).

carnival through state intervention as precisely 1930-2.⁵² It was in 1935 that the competitive framework, pitting highly-regulated samba schools against each other for judges' points and trophies, was established. The ostensible "co-optation" of the samba schools' cultural production by politicians, tourism boosters, "white" middle and upper classes, and criminal gangs has long been the target of criticism among scholars,⁵³ while a notable recent dissertation demonstrates that the apparently imposed officialization of the schools may also have been generated from below, among the cultural actors themselves, who were also interested in defining their genres and their rights out of legal and economic concerns.⁵⁴ Another author adapts Foucault to suggest that the "visual, staged" aspect of Rio's carnival lamented by many critics as a degradation of authenticity was a fundamental part of its early development into the disciplined scopic regime of populist Brazilian nationalism.⁵⁵

More recent scholarship has historicized the processes by which samba and the samba schools were constructed as expressions of Brazil's racial democracy, highlighting the roles of diverse cultural mediators (bridging poor and elite, black and white, musician and bureaucrat, shantytown and downtown), but these helpful works nonetheless retain a near-exclusive focus on Rio de Janeiro even as they expand their analyses of popular

⁵² Eneida Moraes, *História do Carnaval Carioca* (Rio de Janeiro: Record, 1987), p. 90. For more on the centrality of Getúlio Vargas to carnival see Thomas Turino, "Nationalism and Latin American Music: Selected Case Studies and Theoretical Considerations," *Latin American Music Review* vol. 24 no. 2 (2003).

⁵³ Maria Isaura Pereira de Queiroz, "Escolas de samba do Rio de Janeiro ou a domesticação da massa urbana," *Ciência e Cultura* vol. 36 no. 6 (1984): 893-909; Alison Raphael, "From Popular Culture to Microenterprise: The History of Brazilian Samba Schools," *Latin American Music Review* vol. 11 no. 1 (1990): 73-83; Ana Maria Rodrigues, *Samba Negro, Espoliação Branca* (São Paulo: Editora HUCITEC, 1984); Robin E. Sheriff, "The Theft of Carnival: National Spectacle and Racial Politics in Rio de Janeiro," *Cultural Anthropology* vol. 14 no. 1 (1999): 3-28; Julie Taylor, "The Politics of Aesthetic Debate: The Case of Brazilian Carnival" *Ethnology* vol. 21 no. 4 (1982): 301-311.

⁵⁴ Marc Hertzman, "Surveillance and Difference: The Making of *Samba*, Race, and Nation in Brazil (1880s-1970s), Ph.D. diss. (University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2008), 92-100.

⁵⁵ Natasha Pravaz, "Where is the Carnavalesque in Rio's Carnival? Samba, *Mulatas* and Modernity," *Visual Anthropology* 21 (2008): 95-111.

music, carnival culture, and national identity to the contemporary period.⁵⁶ That is certainly understandable, as the best sources by far for histories of Brazilian festival culture and its social contexts are to be found in Rio; but it inadvertently contributes to the earlier de-historicized image of “Brazilian carnival” as geographically fixed, with processes in Rio again being paradigmatic, while I argue the opposite is true. Otherwise, Brazilian media could not have claimed that Salvador’s carnival “beat” Rio’s in 1993.⁵⁷ Even if that victory was symbolic, and contested by many, it supports the conclusion that Brazilians themselves endowed regional variation in carnival with meaning.

So if historical analysis is one way to revise da Matta’s work, another is through regional counter-example. In Pernambuco, Pinto suggests that there is a double carnivalesque inversion within Recife’s carnival.⁵⁸ As in Rio, there is a moment of initial liberation and collectivity, but “various authorities—from the small world of the carnival clubs to state entities and officiating structures—react promptly to this inversion with organization and regulation. A new process of inversion thus takes place... Boundaries not only remain intact during carnival but are even more strongly asserted at that time.” In showing how the apparent “spontaneity” of Pernambuco’s carnival must be constantly “asserted against a complex apparatus of institutions which arrange, organize, and regulate the carnival,” Pinto seems to imply that a series of inversions may occur, in reflex and dialogue with the responses of entrenched rules and authority. This suggests an infinite number of carnival experiences based on localized actions and reactions in all

⁵⁶ Bryan Mcann analyzes the era from 1930 to 1955 in Rio in *Hello Hello Brazil: Popular Music in the Making of Modern Brazil*; see also Hermano Vianna, *The Mystery of Samba: Popular Music and National Identity in Brazil* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999).

⁵⁷ “A Bahia Ganhou: O Que Faz a Magia do País Baiano Explodir no Carnaval,” *Veja*, 24 February 1993.

⁵⁸ Tiago Pinto, “Musical Difference, Competition, and Conflict: The Maracatu Groups in the Pernambuco Carnival, Brazil,” *Latin American Music Review* 17 no. 2 (1996): 97-119.

their social complexity—an argument echoing how Carneiro described the way folklore must change and transform to remain topical (discussed in chapter one).

But since the late 1980s, the most popular regional counterpoint to bring to da Matta's analysis has been Salvador's carnival. Antonio Risério, Bahian critic and author, attacked da Matta's methods (the wholesale application of Turner and Bakhtin's theories to Brazil) and his conclusions: "Brazil is not a medieval burgh, nor an African village. No one is going to pretend to deny universal characteristics of carnival ideology, such as the dissolution of hierarchical order... But we cannot stop there. Bahian carnival is not contained in the space of inversion, but.. renders explicit and *denounces* socio-racial asymmetries."⁵⁹ Since the 1970s Salvador's carnival has undergone new valuing and re-imagining of African culture in Bahia, which Risério called a "re-Africanization," palpable in the rhythms, lyrics, costumes, dance, and other aspects of Afro-Bahian performative culture. Unlike samba schools, the local *blocos afro* were often formed by community cultural activists dedicated to exploring African and diasporic connections with Bahia, while espousing negritude and social justice for Afro-Brazilians. Racial inequalities are extreme in Bahia, and carnival offered a way to dialogue simultaneously with the city's black poor and its white elite.

If scholarship tends to show Rio's samba schools as anachronistic and apolitical, the *blocos* were posed as their opposite: innovative, ideological, confrontational, eminently "present" by re-creating an African past that elites had once said would whiten away over time. *Afoxés*, secular parade groups rooted in *candomblé* (syncretized Afro-

⁵⁹ Antonio Risério, "Carnival: The Colors of Change," in *Black Brazil: Culture, Identity, and Social Mobilization*, eds. Larry Crook & Randal Johnson (Los Angeles: UCLA, 1999), p. 254.

Brazilian religion) that were common to carnival at the turn of the twentieth century,⁶⁰ were also flourishing again in Salvador.⁶¹ Research in the 1990s of all these Afro-Bahian carnival manifestations was notably supportive, even activist, in tone. However, Bahia's traditional mechanisms for smoothing over racial conflict worked in tandem with the expanding professional opportunities of carnival to defuse much of the *blocos'* initial ideological intensity, as well as their coherence as a social movement. Once championed as "arguably the most dynamic and socially committed cultural associations of the black movement in Brazil" by scholars interested in the African diaspora and subaltern cultural politics, the *blocos afro* have proven over time to be more complex, ambivalent entities.⁶² They also have a strained relationship with Brazil's formal black movement, the Movimento Negro Unificado (MNU).⁶³

Most recent historical analyses of Salvador's carnival take the founding of major contemporary Afro-Bahian *blocos*, led by Ilê Aiyê (1974) and Olodum (1979), as their

⁶⁰ Kim D. Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won: Afro-Brazilians in Post-Abolition São Paulo and Salvador* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2000),

⁶¹ Compare the way Rodrigues suggests that a brief "African" phase in Rio's samba schools was encouraged by whites, as a way to bind the blacks in a primitive self-image. *Samba Negro, Espoliação Branca*, 62-3.

⁶² Larry Crook and Randal Johnson, "Introduction," in Crook and Johnson, *Black Brazil*, 8. The most direct critique of the *blocos afro* as social organizations is in Niyi Afolabi, "The Myth of the Participatory Paradigm: Carnival and Contradictions in Brazil" (*Studies in Latin American Popular Culture* 20, 2001), which refers to Ilê Aiyê's "self-interested leadership, centralized planning, and misplaced objectives" and its own "cultural industry that expands at the expense of its marginalized poor." Kim Butler sketches the ambiguous role of Olodum in the government-led restoration of the Pelourinho district in "Afterword: Ginga Baiana," in Hendrik Kraay (ed.), *Afro-Brazilian Culture and Politics: Bahia, 1790s to 1990s* (London: M.E. Sharpe, 1998). Also, Piers Armstrong notes that "The afro-centric rhetoric of *blocos afro* may be structurally dysfunctional in its ostensible call for *cidadania*, both in that it is predicated on an organic link between negritude and subalterity, and in that, to the extent that it is consistent with the broader social logic of carnival, it actually serves as an opiate in the Marxist sense;" Armstrong, "The Aesthetic Escape Hatch: *carnaval*, *blocos afro* and the Mutations of *baianidade* under the Signs of Globalisation and re-Africanisation," *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies* vol. 5 no. 2, 1999.

⁶³ The role of Afro-Brazilian cultural politics versus institutional, political organizing was critiqued by Michael George Hanchard in *Orpheus and Power: The Movimento Negro of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, Brazil, 1945-1988* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

focal points.⁶⁴ Less attention has been paid to earlier eras, and within that scholarship the emphasis remains on the hegemonic nature of carnival with respect to Afro-Bahian involvement (cooptation) in it. The persistent historiographical focus on black identity, resistance, and subaltern cultural politics in Salvador's carnival has brought international exposure to contemporary race relations in Brazil, but at the expense of a deeper comprehension of both the forces of growth and transformation in that carnival as well as the dynamic history of local and national construction of a festival that has changed from a poor copy of Rio's to arguably Brazil's most famous. My dissertation widens the lens both temporally and spatially, first by situating Salvador's carnival of the 1950s-1970s in national context through parallel analyses of developments and issues in the carnivals of Rio de Janeiro and Recife; and also by tracing the origins of the so-called "carnival of popular participation" from the invention of the *trio elétrico* in 1951 and the consolidation of the idea that Salvador's carnival, more than any other national festival, was a space for collective engagement, the public will, and grassroots creativity.

Folklore

Research in the historical context of carnival and Brazilian identity led me to Brazil's folklore movement, which reached its peak in the 1950s and early 1960s. Its members promoted what they saw as authentic Brazilian culture during a period of great socioeconomic shifts, expansion of mass communication industries, and urbanization. This was also a critical time in the growth and consolidation of the carnivals of Rio, Recife, and Salvador. For many folklorists, carnival sat problematically at the intersection

⁶⁴ The first US scholar to publish on them was Daniel Crowley, *African Myth and Black Reality in Brazilian Carnival* (Los Angeles: UCLA Museum of Cultural History, 1984). His analysis was later deemed superficial by Robert Stam among others, but Crowley had a wide focus on groups (away from only the "big three" of Ilê Aiyê, Olodum, and Filhos de Gandhi that most scholars dwell on).

of how modernization and cultural change could represent or threaten both regional and national identity. Some disagreed that carnival represented authentic Brazilian culture, citing carnival's growing capitalization, which appeared to link it to the culture industry's cynically "popular" innovation/obsolescence product cycle; genuine culture was held to exist outside the market economy.

The National Folklore Commission (Comissão Nacional de Folclore, CNFL), initiated in 1947, was neither a monolithic reactionary bulwark nor an entity constrained to rubber-stamping state initiatives in cultural nationalism.⁶⁵ It contained progressives, such as the Communist ethnologist Edison Carneiro (1912-1972), who criticized the hegemonic strategy of official involvement in popular culture, particularly Rio de Janeiro's carnival. It also contained more conservative intellectuals, such as Gustavo Barroso (1888-1959), who as director of Rio's National Historical Museum emphasized the memory of heroic, elite white men.⁶⁶ Given the mission of the CNFL, one might have assumed that it applauded the Vargas regime's project to transform carnival, and Rio de Janeiro's samba schools, into unproblematic and essential symbols of a racially democratic national identity. In fact, carnival presented special problems to Brazil's folklorists. In 1959, Guilherme Santos Neves, a senior folklorist, raised the issue in an essay titled "Is Carnival Folklore?" He demurred from taking a strong position, concluding that the festival itself could be seen as folkloric in some senses and not others,

⁶⁵ The best presentation of archival research on the CNFL, including its origins, goals, initiatives, and many internal disputes, is Luís Rodolfo Vilhena, *Projeto e Missão: O movimento folclórico brasileiro 1947-1964* (Rio de Janeiro: FUNARTE, 1997).

⁶⁶ Daryle Williams, *Culture Wars in Brazil: The First Vargas Regime, 1930-1945* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 136-143.

even thought it may or may not contain identifiably folkloric elements in some cases.⁶⁷ But folklorists raised more specific objections against carnival as folklore, thus questioning its affinity with genuine Brazilian culture: folklore was defined in part as having a social function, and it was unclear what carnival's function was; carnival was not related to accepted categories of traditions associated with the religious calendar (like the Christmas cycle with its roaming groups of costumed wise men, or the saints' days), agricultural festivals, or civic rituals; it had no fixed date⁶⁸ and no fixed culture with traditional continuity, or local variants of national folklore found across Brazil (such as *bumba-meu-boi*, a traditional popular drama). For many folklorists, this lack of defined character left it vulnerable to the threats of the culture industry, whims of fashion, and foreign influence, especially in Brazil's growing cities. At the top of the CNFL, a debate raged in 1959 over whether Rio's samba schools themselves were folklore or not, while Recife's carnival was increasingly conceived as a valuable repository for folklore—with vigorous centralization to attempt to protect its integrity.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ “Carnaval é Folclore?” Comunicação feita à CNFL por Guilherme Santos Neves, Ibecc/Cnfl/Doc.422, de 13/3/59. Centro Nacional de Folclore e Cultura Popular Arquivo Digital: CNFL/1959/Documentos 418-438.

⁶⁸ In many global locales, carnival dates are set according to the later date of Easter, whose calendar appearance depends on the moon. In 2011, Brazilian congressman Stepan Nercessian introduced a proposal for a law to make carnival a fixed date in Brazil, due to the complications of planning for “the greatest national festival and the cultural manifestation that best translates the identity of our people,” as well as being hugely important for the national economy. He noted that other cities have imposed a consistent date, although few of his examples would be considered historical (including London's Notting Hill Carnival and Nice, but also Houston's and Miami's Caribbean Carnivals); he also argued that Brazilian carnival is a popular festival with no religious character since it derives from the Portuguese *entrudo*. I thank Hiram Araújo for providing me a copy of the proposal.

⁶⁹ Principal book-length works on Recife's carnival include Rita de Cássia Barbosa de Araújo, *Festas: Máscaras do Tempo* (Recife: Fundação de Cultura Cidade do Recife, 1996); José Ataíde, *Olinda: Carnaval e Povo, 1900-1981* (Olinda: FCP SHO, 1982); Roberto Benjamin, *Folgedos e Danças de Pernambuco* (Recife: Prefeitura da Cidade do Recife, 1989); Ruy Duarte, *História Social do Frevo* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Leitura, 1968); Mário Souto Maior and Leonardo Dantas Silva (eds.), *Antologia do Carnaval do Recife* (Recife: Fundação Joaquim Nabuco, 1991); Valdemar de Oliveira, *Frevo, Capoeira e “Passo”* (Recife: Companhia Editora de Pernambuco, 1985); Katarina Real, *O Folclore no Carnaval do Recife*, 2^{nda} Edição (Recife: Fundação Joaquim Nabuco, 1990).

In Salvador, folklorists focused on agricultural, civic, or holy festivals, and the production of traditional handicrafts, while largely ignoring carnival—which was reorganizing around the *trio elétrico* model and starting to explore commercial ventures beyond both the carnival calendar and the city itself, still in the early 1950s. The weight of tradition publicly associated with Brazil’s main carnivals elsewhere left space for Salvador’s festival to be “discovered” by national observers in the late 1960s at a crucial political and cultural moment, when the dictatorship was tightening its grip on civil society. Salvador’s carnival seemed to transcend concerns over folklore and state paternalism, appearing genuinely democratic and modern through the spontaneity and experimentation of free-market popular participation.

This dissertation draws from archival and published sources of several key members of the CNFL in Rio and Recife to offer a new perspective of the folklore movement and its concerns regarding carnival, and also shows how regional versions of Rio’s samba schools were received in the carnival cities of Recife and Salvador. More broadly, it joins the discussion among scholars who are reconsidering the dimensions of “folklore” and “popular” as historicized categories of analysis, including how they are conceived and deployed in contemporary societies.⁷⁰ Scholars are also beginning to reconsider previous sources and frameworks to understand how the distinction between folk and popular music in Brazil has been articulated, with its historical suites of connotations regarding authenticity in a country that prizes market prestige, traditional regionalisms, and cosmopolitan modernity. This dissertation advances that endeavor to

⁷⁰ Lawrence W. Levine, “The Folklore of Industrial Society: Popular Culture and its Audiences,” *The American Historical Review* 97 no. 5 (December 1992): 1369-1399; Jesús Martín-Barbero, *Communication, Culture and Hegemony: From the Media to Mediations*, trans. Elizabeth Fox and Robert A. White (London: Sage Publications, 1993).

include carnival, in a multi-sited national perspective.⁷¹ But “authenticity” is not here an assumed quality, but taken in context as something that is characterized by distance—what is implied and desired, but just out of reach, unable to be “seen” and embodied at the same time. Following Landau’s interpretation of Benjamin, this value of distance shaped the way Europeans and other (post)colonial outsiders constructed portraits of “authentic Africans.” But it could also apply to how people see themselves in the same nation, a construct riddled with social differentiations of its own. Authenticity might be sought in the past, in regional culture, or even in a portrait of the future—the ideal soul of a nation, glimpsed in cultural performance.⁷²

Tourism, Region, and Nation

In Salvador, tourism and mass-mediated identities intervene in complex ways on the community’s symbolic boundaries. Historical and contested processes of identity construction, social control, resistance, cultural politics, and urban development underlie the realization of what city leaders and tourism boosters have seen as the “touristic vocation” of Salvador. The novelty of carnival provided a counterbalance to what was often constructed as the deeply traditional culture of Afro-Bahians, often drawing on markers such as dress or cuisine related to *candomblé*. Tourism came relatively late to Salvador. It had been a goal of city leaders since the 1930s, but substantive arrivals began only in the late 1960s—unlike Rio de Janeiro, which was firmly established as a global city and tourist destination by the 1930s (including through glamorous Hollywood films),

⁷¹ Tânia da Costa Garcia, “A folklorização do popular: uma operação de resistência à mundialização da cultura, no Brasil dos anos 50,” *ArtCultura*, vol. 12 n. 20 (2010): 7-22; Sean Stroud, *The Defence of Tradition*; Marcos Napolitano & Maria Clark Wasserman, “Desde que o Samba é Samba: A questão das origens no debate historiográfico sobre a música popular brasileira,” *Revista Brasileira da História*, vol. 20 no. 39 (2000): 167-189.

⁷² Paul Landau, “Empires of the Visual: Photography and Colonial Administration in Africa,” in Landau & Deborah P. Kaspian (eds), *Images and Empires: Visuality in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 141-171.

building on its international prominence as Brazil's capital from 1763 to 1960.⁷³ Tourism also was a longer-term structural factor in the cultural and urban development of New Orleans, a city that was already receiving visitors in the late 19th century.

New Orleans provides an interesting case to compare with Salvador's experience, beyond the broad texture of the festivals (floats and sound trucks, hedonism, year-round industries of music and souvenirs, et cetera). Organized efforts to make Mardi Gras appealing to American and international tourists started in the years after World War I, with period fears over how tourism risked commercializing or transforming the "authentic" festival beginning to yield in the 1960s when New Orleans lost much of its shipping business and, facing wide unemployment among its African American laboring classes, retooled its economy and public policies to emphasize tourism.⁷⁴ Contemporary Mardi Gras, the city's dominant tourist attraction, is the product of "blurred boundaries between commodification and sponsorship," its commercialization fought by preservation groups.⁷⁵ Ironically, entrenched local segregationist practices changed to appeal to the more progressive sympathies of tourists drawn to the festival.

Similarly, tourism was embraced by Salvador's officials in the 1950s in hopes of economic salvation for a marginalized economy. and the city's carnival also appeared to both advance and challenge racial progress as the ideal of popular participation made every reveler discursively equal to join the newly unstructured, free activity on the street fostered by the *trio elétrico* starting in the 1950s; and later, by 1990, *axé music* seemed to

⁷³ In 1968, the governor of Guanabara declared he would no longer officially invite foreign personalities for Rio's carnival: "Our carnival has already reached such a level of popularity around the world that it is better to invest funds in the improvement of the festivity than in transport and lodging for foreign notables." "Governador não mais convidará artistas," *Estado da Bahia*, 29 February 1968.

⁷⁴ Kevin Fox Gotham, *Authentic New Orleans: Tourism, Culture, and Race in the Big Easy* (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 89-94; J. Mark Souther, *New Orleans on Parade: Tourism and the Transformation of the Crescent City* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006), 36-7.

⁷⁵ Gotham, *Authentic New Orleans*, 188.

celebrate shared racial cooperation and success in the professionalizing carnival industry, a new vision of racial / market democracy. Salvador's carnival-popular music, with its blend of Afro-Bahian, Caribbean, and pop elements, seemed to embody a modern form of racial reconciliation and cooperation. But ironically, *axé music's* tropes of Salvador as a tropical, rhythmic, racially diverse, festive, sensual paradise locate the genre squarely in the marketing category of "world music,"⁷⁶ a self-exoticizing function it served equally for global listeners and, simultaneously, curious Brazilians from principally the developed southeast. As such, it proved a very effective form of advertizing for both carnival and the city. But the city's large, mainly Afro-Bahian underclass would be increasingly marginalized as the carnival space grew more privatized, elite carnival groups autonomously entered into complex advertising arrangements with sponsors (which, combined with city sponsors, turned the streets into gaudy fields of slogans and brands shouting for attention), and affluent tourists emerged as the city's most desired reveler. This process has been praised and lamented by Bahia's academics, who see either local social exclusion or general economic growth.⁷⁷

In general, however, any comparisons with Mardi Gras must be drawn carefully. Wherever tourism is desired, it is viewed as a source of revenue and prestige, but there may also be symbolic differences to what tourism represents in different cases. For

⁷⁶ Noting from the perspective of the West that "Every phase of the evolution of popular music displayed 'alien' elements, often substantially modified to suit Western tastes," John Connell and Chris Gibson suggest that the origins of contemporary world music begin from roughly 1930 to the 1960s (*Sound Tracks: Popular Music, Identity and Place* [London: Routledge, 2003], especially chapter 7, "New Worlds: Music from the Margins?"). Those years saw the expansion of the recording industry through global capital networks, broader availability of consumer audio equipment, and the rise of the modern tourist industry via air travel.

⁷⁷ An important example of the corpus of scholarly work criticizing Salvador's carnival is Clímaco César Siqueira Dias, "Carnaval de Salvador: Mercantilização e Produção de Espaços de Segregação, Exclusão e Conflito," Masters thesis, Federal University of Bahia, 2002. A good representative work of the academic business and economics community praising carnival's expansion and privatization is Paulo Cesar Miguez de Oliveira, "Carnaval Baiano: As Tramas de Alegria e a Teia de Negócios," Masters thesis, Federal University of Bahia, 1996.

instance, New Orleans is marketed as both traditional and unique in the American landscape, an exotic mishmash of old Europe, the Caribbean, Africa, and Latin America implausibly located in a country whose mainstream values are still white and Protestant. Not just its historical importance as the “birthplace of jazz,” an indigenous American music, but its inherent difference from the rest of the United States is its calling card (even as it must maneuver to meet diverse expectations, from maintaining cultural attractions to modernizing some racial customs). For domestic tourists, Mardi Gras reigns supreme in a country with no other carnival options to gauge it against.

Salvador, by contrast, exists in what famed Bahian author Jorge Amado (1912-2001) called the “country of carnival.” There are many different Brazilian carnivals, and the first half of this dissertation examines three of the largest, from particular angles, just after mid-century. To be a tourism success story, Salvador’s carnival had to present a variation of Brazilian carnival that was appealing to people beyond the city. The idea that it beat Rio’s for pride of place as Brazil’s carnival gave it considerable prestige; but the presence of diverse Brazilians there was also a key symbolic (and economic) aspect of its rise to the title of the nation’s carnival. The tourists ratified the festival’s national relevance, even as they introduced factors of change and entrenchment in its cultural production and its wider social contexts, intercut by class and race divides.

International tourists are especially desirable for their spending power and cachet, but they have rarely made up more than around ten percent of the tourists attending Salvador’s carnival. But the Brazilian tourists partaking in Salvador’s innovative festival may also have been hoping to enjoy the city’s “exotic” qualities with respect to other mainstream senses of Brazilian identity (especially racial). Given the history of Brazilian

race relations, Salvador was a complicated site in which to propose a base of national identity, even in the symbol of carnival, because it has long had the reputation of a “black city.” Robert Levine notes that as early as 1714, visitors “expressed repugnance of the capital’s African mood and its large proportion of blacks.”⁷⁸ Kim Butler writes that in the early twentieth century, African-based culture was “characteristic of Salvador” and the national sense of racial inferiority was “heightened in Bahia.”⁷⁹ Poetic evocations of Salvador as Brazil’s *mãe preta* (black mother), an urban space eroticized and embodied in the tempting *mulata*, are deep in literature and other arts.⁸⁰ As Barbara Weinstein shows, a movement by Paulista elites against the Vargas regime in the early 1930s featured a campaign to discursively construct the northeast as “a backward land populated mainly by primitive or degenerate peoples,” hence a dangerous “other” to the white São Paulo separatists dedicated to saving Brazil from itself, and Salvador was the darkest city in the region.⁸¹ Racialized ascriptions of Bahia mingled with memories of various local popular movements that had jolted elite senses of order throughout Brazil—from the revolt of the Malê slaves (1835) and the Sabinada (1937-8), to the Dois de Julho “Bahian independence day” and the alternative society of Canudos—in marking Bahia and its “African” capital as a racially and culturally exotic locale that might threaten, or provide a useful contrast to, other mainstream discourses of Brazilian nationhood.⁸²

⁷⁸ Robert M. Levine, “The Singular Brazilian City of Salvador,” *Luso-Brazilian Review* 30 no. 2 (1993): 59-69.

⁷⁹ Kim Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedom Won*, 185.

⁸⁰ Maria Lenilda Carneiro S. David, “São Salvador da Bahia: Imagens e Canção Popular,” in Rita Olivieri-Godet and Lícia Soares de Souza (orgs.), *Identidades e Representações na Cultura Brasileira* (João Pessoa: Idéia, 2001).

⁸¹ Barbara Weinstein, “Racializing Regional Difference: São Paulo versus Brazil, 1932,” in eds., *Race & Nation in Modern Latin America*, eds. Nancy P. Appelbaum, Anne S. Macpherson & Karin Alejandra Rosenblatt (University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

⁸² To avoid reifying race, Peter Wade argues, “rather than studying ‘races’ or ‘blacks’ or ‘whites’—even as socially constructed groups—one studies processes of racialized identifications and the racialized social

These representations and counter-representations of culture and identity have formative social, cultural, and political effects which need not be logically coherent. The very medium that trumpeted Salvador's carnival victory over Rio de Janeiro, the national news magazine *Veja*, also underscored the sense that Salvador and Bahia were nonetheless innately different from the rest of Brazil: "Their carnival doesn't come out of nowhere. It's the product of a specific social and racial configuration. Bahia is different in a Brazilian way; Bahia is to Brazil as Brazil is to the world... No one denies that with Bahia, we are dealing with a different country."⁸³

Chapter Summaries

Chapter one provides national context for the study of Salvador through case studies of the carnivals of Rio de Janeiro and Recife, 1950s-1970s. First it examines the how the rise of Brazil's folklore movement, centered in Rio de Janeiro, engaged concerns surrounding both carnival and local samba schools. The debate between prominent folklorists Renato Almeida and Edison Carneiro over whether the schools represented folklore or not reveals how intellectuals opposed to the state project to regulate and nationalize Rio's carnival justified their views. Next, in Recife, folklorist and carnival manager Katarina Real called for firm administration of the festival, including protecting it from the market and from cultural change. Local versions of Rio's samba schools were deemed an invasive, threatening force by Real, Gilberto Freyre and others, and their

relations that go with them (*Music, Race, and Nation*, 14). Further works on region as, in Wade's words, "a powerful language of cultural and racial differentiation" include Wade, *Blackness and Race Mixture: The Dynamics of Racial Identity in Colombia* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993); Nancy Appelbaum, *Muddied Waters: Race, Region, and Local History in Colombia, 1846-1948* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003); Sarah C. Chambers, *From Subjects to Citizens: Honor, Gender, and Politics in Arequipa, Peru, 1780-1854* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999).

⁸³ "A Folia do Carnaval Baiano," *Veja*, 04 March 1987; "A Bahia Ganhou," *Veja*, 24 Feb 1993.

inclusion in Recife's highly regulated carnival was a matter of controversy; critics argued that samba schools did not further the goals or expression of racial democracy in Recife.

Chapter two considers Salvador's period carnival before and during the rise of the *trio elétrico* from the angles of folklore, the market, the state, and tourism. Folklorists were relatively disengaged from this carnival, focusing on other aspects of local culture. But carnival's intersection with the private sector was more explicit and accepted than in the official carnivals of Rio and Recife. businesses, including stores, manufacturers, and radio stations, sponsored carnival events and openly used the festival as an advertising venue. A visit from a traditional carnival group from Recife was the catalyst for the creation of the *trio elétrico* in 1951. This festive invention, widely copied and immediately seized upon by corporate sponsors, soon was praised for bringing new animation and a unique identity to the city's festival, and by the 1970s, officials were hoping to exclude Salvador's Rio-style samba schools from appearing in carnival.

In chapter three, the emergence of the discourse of "popular participation" by the end of the 1960s as a descriptive slogan for Salvador's carnival is traced across a range of sources. Initially viewed as merely a local invention that could trigger spontaneous dancing and the gathering of unstructured crowds through the novel attraction of amplified bands playing atop moving vehicles, the *trio elétrico* was becoming Salvador's dominant carnival form in a moment of socioeconomic and political contexts that sharpened its meanings and potentialities, crystalizing their national significance. In the midst of the constraint of various democracies, including the right to vote, the "carnival of popular participation" appeared to represent the strength and vitality of the public voice and collective initiative. It was seen as breaking boundaries between rich / poor and

white / black, while the state and local governments (representatives of an unpopular military regime) reduced their visible presence in the people's festival. The growing demand for sponsorship among *trios* led both to their rapid growth in size and sonic power, and to new opportunities for cultural entrepreneurs, even as the founders characterized the *trio elétrico* they invented as a form of folklore.

Chapter four elaborates on the contradictions at the heart of the carnival of popular participation from three angles. First, the founders of the *trio elétrico* argued that public funding should equally support carnival attractions, while private sponsors were avidly sought by other *trios*. This led to the founders seeking patronage relationships with conservative governments that might appear retrograde, even as the political jingles they recorded in the 1970s and early 1980s helped form the musical and lyrical template for later *axé music*. Also, their commitment to a version of Recife's *frevo* would ultimately be left behind as later carnival bands recalibrated the nature of musical hybridization to appear both more Bahian and more global in scope. Second, although the national significance of this carnival could be measured in growing tourist and music-industry receipts, the concomitant escalation of private entities on the street composed of celebrity bands and open only to fee-paying members seemed to emphasize the inherent inequality of this new, free-market, "popular" carnival. Third, city and state tourism authorities marketed the festival to affluent revelers, especially tourists, and devised a series of alternative carnivals for poor neighborhoods, leading to deep contradictions in who the actual citizen-consumers of Salvador's "popular" carnival actually were.

The conclusion offers a preliminary analysis of how Brazil's carnival of popular participation was received in Rio and Recife, and reflects on problems that it faces

presently. I explore how officials, activists, and artists linked to this carnival have been attempting to curb some of its entrepreneurial, globalized excesses to protect its more “traditional” aspects, and also reduce its levels of social exclusion. I also outline a recent project undertaken by Bahia’s state heritage institution to safeguard a nearby town’s carnival culture from the homogenizing, commercializing taints of Salvador’s festival.

Taylor observes, “Brazilians have poured their energies into discussion of the demise of pure carnival for at least half a century... debate about the corruption or destruction of a symbol of national identity does not signal that its significance is diminishing. Rather the debate itself raises the scale of the social space within which the symbol is meaningful.”⁸⁴ The symbolic center of Brazilian carnival may have shifted in the 1990s, but longstanding concerns over authenticity, national identity, and mass culture (posited most forcefully by mid-century folklorists), still shape that debate. The quest to define true Brazilian carnival is a continuing search for answers to questions Brazil asks itself about “who it is” and “what it wants for the nation.”⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Taylor, “The Politics of Aesthetic Debate,” 310-311.

⁸⁵ Marcos Napolitano, *Cultura Brasileira: Utopia e Massificação*, 7.

Chapter 1

Rio de Janeiro and Recife: Brazil's Folklore Commission Confronts Carnival

By the 1950s, Brazil was in the midst of profound social, economic, and political transitions. At the close of World War II, many Brazilians hoped for new opportunities for development and international prominence, based on the promise of cooperative wartime relationships with the United States.¹ Getúlio Vargas, who had ruled the country as dictator from 1937 to 1945, returned as democratically elected president in 1951 with an ambitious national development program framed around nationalist and populist appeal. During his second regime a state oil monopoly, Petrobrás, was created, a development that divided the military amongst nationalists and anti-Communists. Meanwhile, his working-class support eroded under the conditions International Monetary Fund-imposed stabilization measures to address Brazil's balance-of-payments deficit, which had led to wage freezes. Under imminent threat of a military coup, Vargas committed suicide in August 1954.²

Vargas's successor, Juscelino Kubitschek, presided over a brief period of stability, growth, and ebullience. With his ambitious Program of Goals (*Programa de Metas*) his administration helped expand Brazil's infrastructure and industrialization

¹ Brazil remained neutral until 1942 when they sided with the allies against the Axis powers, motivated in part by the Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor, Axis submarine attacks on the shipping routes linking U.S. and Brazilian ports, and the promise of U.S. support. The U.S. government was an active presence in Brazil starting that year. Morris Llewellyn Cooke, *Brazil on the March: A Study in International Cooperation* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1944); *The Development of Brazil. Report of Joint Brazil-United States Economic Development Cooperation* (Washington, D.C.: Institute of Inter-American Affairs, 1954).

² The literature on Vargas is immense, and a detailed analysis of his life and the politics of his era is beyond the bounds of this dissertation. My sketch of the end of his career is derived from Robert Levine, *Father of the Poor? Vargas and his Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Colin M. MacLachlan, *A History of Modern Brazil: The Past against the Future* (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 2003); Thomas Skidmore, *Brazil: Five Centuries of Change* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

(although at a cost of high debt and the concentration of regional industrial imbalances), while at least briefly managing to appeal to the left and right in the political spectrum.³ Observers characterized the time of the Kubitschek regime as one of optimism for the future and national pride in Brazil, reflected symbolically by imposing new tariffs on the importation of Hollywood films in 1957,⁴ the global success of bossa nova after 1959⁵ and the inauguration of Brazil's newly-built capital—a modernist city boldly imposed on the plains and marshes of the Central Plateau—in 1960.⁶ The growth rates of industrial production under Kubitschek proved unsustainable over the long term. Whatever the individual political struggles and failings of his successors Jânio Quadros and João Goulart, Kubitschek's developmentalism left a legacy of budget deficits, inflation, and inequality in an era of international Cold War tension that ultimately helped weaken the coalition that had sustained populist developmentalism.

Threats to Tradition and the Rise of the Folklore Movement

On the cultural front, the decades of the 1940s and 1950s saw the consolidation of both Rio de Janeiro's carnival as a broadly accepted emblem of national identity, and the country's official folklore movement. The National Folklore Commission (CNFL) was instituted in 1947 under the auspices of the Brazilian Institute of Education, Science, and Culture (IBECC, the Brazilian arm of UNESCO), and its mandates were to study, protect,

³ Robert J. Alexander, *Juscelino Kubitschek and the Development of Brazil* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 1991).

⁴ Randal Johnson, *The Film Industry in Brazil: Culture and the State* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1987), 81-4.

⁵ Ruy Castro, *Bossa Nova: The Story of the Brazilian Music that Seduced the World* (Chicago: A Cappella Books, 2000); Renato Cordeiro Gomes, "Bossa-Nova: Uma Nova Afinação," in Wander Melo Miranda (ed.), *Anos JK: Margens da Modernidade* (São Paulo: Imprensa Oficial do Estado, 2002). Bossa nova was also attacked in Brazil by nationalist critics who deplored it as samba colonized by American jazz; I will address how those critiques intersected with concerns about the samba schools later in this chapter.

⁶ James Holston, *The Modernist City: An Anthropological Critique of Brasília* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1989).

and disseminate national traditional culture as well as collaborate with international folklore organizations.⁷ Before the 1964 military coup hastened its decline, the CNFL built a nation-wide network of specialists and enthusiasts branching into state sub-commissions, with members volunteering their time and effort; it also coordinated folklore events at the state, national, and international levels. The group built on a growing interest in folklore in Brazil and across Europe and the Americas, as well as the official post-war emphasis on international cooperation and understanding throughout the West.⁸ Executive secretary Renato Almeida (1895-1981) envisioned the movement as uniquely capable of reaching deep into the villages of the unstudied Brazilian rural interior to link them to the nation, while at the same time projecting Brazil outwards as an equal partner in the global movement toward “peace and the intellectual and moral solidarity of humanity.”⁹ His colleague Edison Carneiro, known for studies of Afro-Brazilian culture in 1930s Bahia, agreed that the study of folklore had national and global importance: “Due to its genuinely popular character, folklore, whether expressed spiritually or materially, contains the national essence... The deeper one explores the origins and relations of folkloric phenomena, the more one recognizes the fundamental unity of mankind, in its eternal desire for justice, liberty, and peace.”¹⁰ Their often-

⁷ The origins of Brazil’s folklore movement are in the late nineteenth century, when intellectuals began to collect oral poetry and song; in subsequent decades, drama, popular festivals, and Afro-Brazilian religious practices were explored and analyzed through the lenses of race and region (Edison Carneiro, “Evolução dos Estudos de Folclore no Brasil,” *Revista Brasileira de Folclore* Ano II n. 3, 1962). The search to identify and preserve national music drove the most substantial early research, becoming central to Brazil’s first folklore institutions; Mário de Andrade’s 1938 *Missão de Pesquisas Folclóricas*, influenced by the modernist movement, Vargas-era nationalism and the threatening expansion of transnational culture industries, exemplifies the trend (Stroud, *The Defence of Tradition*, 136-143).

⁸ In the first few years of the CNFL’s existence, it established formal relations with members of government or the academy in such countries as France, Spain, Portugal, the United States, Puerto Rico, Colombia, Mexico, England, Scotland, Denmark, Hungary, Turkey, Australia, and Morocco.

⁹ For examples of this discourse, see Almeida’s letter dated 25/2/1948 welcoming Nelson da Sena to the Minas Gerais Sub-Commission CNFCP DA: CNFL\Assuntos Gerais\expedidas – 1947 a 1959.

¹⁰ Edison Carneiro, “Folclore,” in *A Sabedoria Popular do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Tecnoprint, 1968), 21.

soaring rhetoric was driven by a sharp concern for the role of folklore—defined generally by the CNFL in 1951 as “the manners of thinking, feeling, and acting of a people, preserved through popular tradition and collective acceptance”—in maintaining what Almeida called Brazil’s “national continuity.”¹¹

That continuity seemed to be threatened on a distressing variety of fronts. Starting in the immediate post-war years and continuing into the next decade, Brazil, like most Latin American countries, experienced a surge in population growth through higher birth and lower infant-mortality rates and rapid expansions in internal migration and urbanization. All of these factors lent a shared sense of urgency to the study of folklore around the region. Mexico had implemented programs to research and promote folklore earlier than most other countries, in response to the impulse to articulate and foster collective values of *lo mexicano* soon after the close of hostilities in the Mexican Revolution.¹² But in Brazil it was the post-war expansion of the urban industrial sector and the accompanying socioeconomic change—especially new geographical and cultural mobility generated through such key growth areas as petroleum, automobiles, road construction, steel, and mass communications—that raised concerns about preserving the nation’s traditional character.¹³ It was also a time of fervent experimentation and growth in Brazil’s culture industries, headquartered in Rio de Janeiro. Nationalist observers

¹¹ Letter to Dr. Isaias Alves, Director of the Department of Philosophy and Letters at the University of Bahia, Ibecc/Cnfl/-307: 25/1/1950 (CNFCP DA: CNFL\Assuntos Gerais\expedidas – 1947 a 1959).

¹² Perspectives of the construction of a Mexican folkloric identity are in Armando Bartra, “The Seduction of the Innocents: The First Tumultuous Moments of Mass Literacy in Mexico” (in Gilbert Joseph & Daniel Nugent, eds. *Everyday Forms of State Formation: Revolution and the Negotiation of Rule in Mexico* [Durham: Duke University Press, 1994], 301-325); Alex Saragoza, “The Selling of Mexico: Tourism and the State, 1929-1952” (in Gilbert Joseph, Anne Rubenstein & Eric Zolov, eds., *Fragments of a Golden Age: The Politics of Culture in Mexico since 1940* [Durham: Duke University Press, 2001], 91-115).

¹³ Marshall Eakin, *Brazil: The Once and Future Country* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1998); Helen Shapiro, *Engines of Growth: The State and Transnational Auto Companies in Brazil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

worried about the quantity and integrity of the Brazilian content of their products. As radios grew less costly, radio stations were increasing in number, from fewer than one hundred in Brazil in 1945 to 300 in 1950, and more than 800 by 1960.¹⁴ While Brazilian musicians found expanded outlets for their work, the pervasiveness of international music styles such as tango, jazz and foxtrot (and their local adaptations) evoked condemnation from critics such as José Ramos Tinhorão.¹⁵ Brazilian film production rose, from four features in 1941 to twenty-two in 1950; most were *chanchadas*, a musical / comedic drama based on Hollywood models that typically portrayed migrants dazzled and confused by the big city, intercut with glamorous scenes from Rio's carnival. But it was mostly foreign films that played on Brazil's growing number of screens: in 1950, domestic production was dwarfed by imports from the United States (357), with even Italy and Mexico releasing more features in Brazil (35 and 37 respectively) than the nation could deliver. Sound cinema had arrived in Brazil in 1929, and the steep costs of making "talkies" compared to exhibiting them hindered the Brazilian industry (which depended on importing all the technology and film stock), while audiences quickly adapted to reading Portuguese subtitles applied to the stylish imports.¹⁶

It was in this context that the CNFL hoped to foster a "folkloric consciousness" across Brazil, a "favorable atmosphere that encouraged these studies, and the development of love for the traditional arts" of the Brazilian people. This involved creating folklore courses for schools and universities, presenting lectures and radio programs, lobbying cities and states for the support of traditional culture and folklore

¹⁴ McCann, *Hello Hello Brazil*, p. 24; Skidmore, *Brazil: Five Centuries of Change*, p. 142.

¹⁵ José Ramos Tinhorão, *Música Popular: Um tema em debate* (Rio de Janeiro: Editôra Fon-Fon, 1966).

¹⁶ John King, *Magical Reels: A History of Cinema in Latin America* (London: Verso, 1990), 56-7; Johnson, *The Film Industry in Brazil*, 44, 61; Lisa Shaw, "The Brazilian Chanchada (1930-59)," *The Prince Claus Fund Journal* (2001), 60-69.

museums, promoting the use of folklore in early education, and fostering relations with journalists, civil society associations, government representatives, and elites across the country.¹⁷ Almeida imposed some editorial coherence over the face of this large volunteer organization by compiling and circulating to all states monthly bulletins highlighting important events or issues, and listing recent publications of folkloric interest; and a regular series of studies submitted by CNFL members.

While concerned with tradition, the CNFL had worldly touches. The executive council, based in downtown Rio de Janeiro, included such noted sophisticates as writer Gilberto Freyre and composer Heitor Villa-Lobos (1887-1959). Women occupied key roles, including the prominent Rio journalist and author Mariza Lira (1899-1971) who served on the executive council, and famed musicologist Oneyda Alvarenga (1911-1984) in the São Paulo state commission. Still, in light of the international dominance in the spheres of mass culture, folklorists singled out the new circuits of market-based popular media as a threat to the continuity of national character; Almeida asserted that the CNFL had to “save folklore from the deformations inflicted by cinema and radio.”¹⁸ But they paid close attention to mass media. In 1953, Edison Carneiro indicated that he actually admired such celebrity recording-artist *sambistas* as Cartola, Dunga, Ataulfo Alves, and Noel Rosa, even though “the simple man of the *favela* and the samba school is closer to the source of our poetry and music, and does not need sophistications or the applause of stage audiences.”¹⁹ The CNFL saw the potential to use the mass media to advance

¹⁷ See in the CNFCP DA: CNFL\Assuntos Gerais\expedidas – 1947 a 1959, doc 522, “Informação ao Ibecc, para ser enviada à Unesco, sobre as atividades folclóricas em 1949;” and CNFL\1954\Documentos 287-302, doc 294 de 30/4/1954, “Folclore e Educação de Base.”

¹⁸ Letter to Theo Brandão dated 31/5/1948, Ibecc/Cnfl/-120- (CNFCP DA: CNFL\Assuntos Gerais\expedidas – 1947 a 1959).

¹⁹ “Os dez maiores sambas de todos os tempos,” *Manchete* 3 October 1953.

Brazil's folkloric consciousness. They knew that radio was the best way to reach a wide audience, and they publicized their national and regional meetings through folklore-themed notices and lectures broadcast around the country. Almeida prepared statements on diverse themes for the state sub-commissions to deliver to radio broadcasters, and he praised the folklore specials on Rio's notable Roquette-Pinto and Rádio Nacional stations.²⁰ Folklorists celebrated what they saw as the appropriate depiction of folklore in cinematic productions, occasionally claiming credit for the CNFL in stimulating "salutary effects in the popular mentality."²¹

Rio de Janeiro, Urban Carnival, and Folklore

Music was a critical subject of debate at the time, embraced and analyzed by avid publics as well as trained musicologists such as Almeida.²² He and other folklorists read the *Revista de Música Popular (RMP, Popular Music Magazine)*, a short-lived but influential Rio publication that was less concerned with distinctions between "folk" and "popular" than with the ostensibly authentic Brazilian character of the music it featured—or with the quality of certain foreign music presumed to be of interest to educated Brazilian listeners.²³ The *RMP* did not claim that Rio's samba schools were folkloric

²⁰ A typical message went out in late December 1948 urging state and municipal authorities to protect and promote the traditional folkloric processions associated with the Christmas cycle: Letter to Théo Brandão, Ibccc/Cnfl/-195-, de 31/12/1948 (CNFCP DA: CNFL/Assuntos Gerais\expedidas – 1947 a 1959). See also Letter to Théo Brandão, Ibccc/Cnfl/323-A de 12/6/1950 (CNFCP DA: CNFL/Assuntos Gerais\expedidas – 1947 a 1959). Almeida mentioned Almirante's show "Recolhendo Folclore" in a 1955 bulletin, Ibccc/Cnfl – BB-92, julho de 1955 #91 (CNFCP DA: CNFL/Documentos\1955\Boletins 86-97).

²¹ Edison Carneiro made that statement with reference to improvements in depicting folklore onscreen. Carneiro, *O Folclore Nacional, 1943-1953* (Rio de Janeiro: Souza, 1954), 18.

²² McCann states of Brazilian popular music between the 1920s and 1950s, "To a greater degree than cinema, popular literature, or sport, it emerged as a decisive forum for debate over national identity, and Brazilians began to view the exercise of musical preference in the cultural marketplace as an act with enormous consequences." *Hello Hello Brazil*, 5.

²³ Almeida often cited articles from the *RMP* in the Bibliography section of his monthly bulletins, and folklorist Manoel Diegues Júnior heartily endorsed the magazine: "Its arrival brings joy to the followers of folk and popular music among us... we acclaim it, hoping it will be a valuable instrument in orienting the

organizations, nor was the word “folklore” used in articles about such major local carnival groups as Portela, entitled “Onde Mora o Samba” (“Where the Samba Lives,” January 1955) or Estação Primeira Mangueira, called “Onde Nasce o Samba” (“Where the Samba is Born,” April 1956). Accounts of the schools’ dedication, discipline, and secrecy regarding their annual songs (for fear of “plagiarism” or having their ideas stolen) appeared in an overall editorial and advertising context that clearly viewed Brazilian popular music as both a fundamental national signifier, and a good business that rewarded the creative and swift. In that sense, Tânia da Costa Garcia perhaps exaggerates in claiming that, across all its articles on carnival and carnival music, the *RMP* “treated carnival like a popular festival, a spontaneous manifestation, collective, of a functional character—thus stereotypically folkloric.”²⁴ But the resonant historical stature of the samba schools as embodying an authentic tradition of Rio de Janeiro samba that in its “purest” form was associated strictly with carnival, but also served as a resource to be adopted and integrated into the city’s larger popular music scene the rest of the year, shone through.

By the late 1940s, the samba schools were being recreated in carnivals throughout Brazil, from Salvador and São Luis in the northeast to São Paulo in the southeast. A 1958 newspaper article enthused that in Florianópolis, capital of the southern state of Santa Catarina, locals could experience “samba schools equal to those in Rio de Janeiro.”²⁵ One might have thought that folklorists would be supportive of this discourse of national continuity, and the state moves to officialize Rio’s carnival as a symbol of authentic,

public to comprehend our true folk and popular music.” Quoted in “Como a imprensa se referiu ao aparecimento da Revista da Música Popular,” *RMP* 3, December 1954.

²⁴ Tânia da Costa Garcia, “A folklorização do popular,” 16.

²⁵ “Florianópolis na cadência do samba,” *A Gazeta* (São Paulo), 2 April 1958.

racially democratic Brazilian identity. However, it is difficult to find archival evidence of folklorists who endorsed the project as it actually unfolded. For some, the reason lay in an orthodox interpretation of folklore that derived from the concept's nineteenth-century European origins. In this tradition, authentic traditions of the "folk" were to be found in rural areas—not in cities, where socioeconomic change, atomization of community, and cultural hybridization were seen as toxic. According to this view, just as Brazil as a whole was vulnerable to foreign influence, so was Brazil's traditional rural heartland vulnerable to the contaminants of mass culture produced in its own metropolitan centers. During a speech at Brazil's first Folklore Week, in August 1948 in Rio de Janeiro, IBECC's interim president Dr. Henrique de Beaupaire Rohan Aragão argued:

Everything is changing very rapidly under the label of progress... Some twenty years ago I happened to see, not without some element of scandalized surprise, men in Brazil's interior using costumes and horse-riding techniques inspired by Tom Mix, as well as girls obviously attempting to copy the fashions and manners of the movie stars. The traditional or traditionally improvised songs of the northeastern backwoodsmen are being effaced by foreign ballads, and by the carnival songs born in the hills of Rio de Janeiro... So many things are becoming formalized and mass-produced. Radio, cinema, and the recording industry all conspire at every moment against our most precious traditions.²⁶

This view of the invasive danger of Rio's carnival culture saw it as irredeemably removed from the spontaneous authenticity of folklore and merely another form of the metropolitan culture-industry marketplace. Urban culture was to be regarded as a threat (to both the "nation" and its composite regional diversity), not as a topic of study. As a theoretical problem of where the national essence resided, Mário de Andrade, director of São Paulo's Department of Culture in the 1930s and the pioneer of modern Brazilian folklore, had a different interpretation that was based on a careful application of

²⁶ "Discurso do Dr. Henrique de Beaupaire Rohan Aragão," *Semana Folclórica* (Rio de Janeiro: I.B.E.C.C. / UNESCO, 1948), 10.

folklore's general postulates to the Brazilian setting. He argued that the conditions of "speed, disequilibrium, and progress" as they intersected historical patterns of Brazilian development had led to the erasure of boundaries between rural and urban zones; these zones "interpenetrate," meaning both that not everything in the interior is authentic and that "urban folklore" was a valid subject of study. He insisted that to reject the possibility of "national" urban folklore was to willfully disregard Brazilian reality.²⁷

This would present points of contention for Renato Almeida and Edison Carneiro in their disagreement over the national authenticity of Rio's samba schools. Almeida, over a long career in Brazil's Ministry of Foreign Relations, had developed a polished diplomatic skill and concern for consensus, which is explicit in both his voluminous correspondence with CNFL members and his active participation in international folklore and folk music congresses. To him, norms that were widely agreed upon through global debate were not to be retrofit for narrowly national interests or rogue research agendas; both the legitimacy of folklore as a field, and the stature of individual countries participating in its specialized international dialogue, were at stake. Edison Carneiro, who located his work squarely in the intellectual legacy of Andrade, increasingly was driven by the sense that "imported" conceptual tools might be inadequate for a clear comprehension of Brazilian reality.

With respect to the category of urban folklore, which Carneiro enthusiastically accepted, Almeida was somewhat slower to embrace it and drew the boundaries of its content more narrowly. Part of the reason lay in the structure of the CNFL itself, which was built upon states as component parts. The city of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil's capital until 1960, was an independent Federal District (Distrito Federal, D.F.) without its own

²⁷ Mario de Andrade, *Ensaio Sobre a Música Brasileira* (São Paulo: Martins, 1962), 166-7.

folklore sub-commission. There was irony in the CNFL being headquartered in a city that had no local commission and that was structurally excluded as a research site, especially given the wide public interest in local samba schools, and Rio's attraction for migrants from throughout the rest of Brazil who brought various traditions with them. Research into local folklore was initiated in 1951 through a pilot study designed by CNFL executive council member Mariza Lira²⁸ and gradually became part of the program, carried out by resident folklorists—notably Edison Carneiro himself, who had joined the executive council in 1950 at Almeida's invitation.²⁹ Almeida charged him with reporting on Rio's folkloric festival culture at the 1953 National Folklore Congress, and part of his research in 1952-3 was focused on the samba schools Portela and Unidos de Salgueiro.³⁰ In 1959, Almeida announced the opening of Rio de Janeiro's fully-fledged Municipal Folklore Commission; he declared (being careful to cite the precedent of research into folklore in New York City) that the D.F. had "dynamic, living folklore beneath its skyscrapers, in the anonymous tumult of its streets."³¹ He mentioned examples from popular Afro-Brazilian religion and popular holiday processions, and also "the samba coming from the hills," but not samba schools themselves. In a later essay he stressed that "urban folklore is a reality," but retreated further from anything related to carnival,

²⁸ "Reunião do Conselho Técnico Consultivo da Comissão Nacional de Folclore," Ibecc/Cnfl/Doc. 241, 13/11/51 (CNFCP DA: CNFL/1951/Documentos 216-242).

²⁹ Letter from Renato Almeida to Edison Carneiro, 1 September 1950. CNFCP Série Edison Carneiro, Documentos\Correspondências\Almeida, Renato\Recebida 1950-1969.

³⁰ He recounted his experience leading research trips to the schools' headquarters in essays written later, and included in his book *Folguedos Tradicionais*, first published in small numbers in 1961 and re-released in 1982. He also published the essay "New Elements in Carioca Folklore" in his 1957 book *Sabedoria Popular*, exploring games, dances, and carnival culture.

³¹ Renato Almeida, "Comissão Municipal de Folclore: Discurso proferido, na solenidade de sua instalação, no 'Dia do Folclore' de 1959," Ibecc/Cnfl/Doc. 432, 3 September 1959 (CNFCP DA: CNFL/1959/Documentos 418-438).

emphasizing instead the quotidian practices of superstition, proverbs, popular song, graffiti, and nicknames.³²

Almeida did not always doubt the samba schools' folkloric veracity. In 1941, six years before he founded the CNFL—while a functionary of the Division of Press and Propaganda in Vargas's New State—he helped organize a visit to the headquarters of the samba school Mangueira, as part of Brazil's first Folklore Exposition.³³ In 1956, as executive secretary of the CNFL, Almeida wrote a letter to the Presidents of the Association of Samba Schools and the Brazilian Confederation of Samba Schools hoping to gather information about the schools “as part of our research program this year... Using those data, we hope to publish a reference work on the Samba Schools, for free distribution to anyone interested in the traditional culture of our country.”³⁴ But Almeida was soon tempering his view, his concerns centering especially on their music; he wrote in 1958 that with all the traditional, popularesque, and international cultural influences circulating in metropolitan Rio de Janeiro, “it is difficult to determine up to what point the melodies and rhythms of the samba schools are genuinely of folkloric origin and at what point they no longer are.”³⁵ In 1959, Almeida declared in a CNFL document that the only folkloric aspect left in the schools, whether in their music or carnival performances, resided in the rhythm; the rest was “contaminated by numerous elements that prejudice

³² Renato Almeida, “Conceituação Brasileira do Folclore,” in *Vivência e Projeção do Folclore* (Rio de Janeiro: Agir, 1971), 26.

³³ There, in an encounter indicative of the wide official interest in Rio's shantytown populations at the time, the group—including a member of Rio's city hall—bumped into Major Inácio de Freitas Rolim, President of the Scouting Federation, who was recruiting boy scouts. Mariza Lira, *1ª Exposição de Folclore no Brasil - Achêgas para a História do Folclore no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1953), 10-11.

³⁴ Letters by Renato Almeida, dated 16 March 1956 (CNFCP DA: CNFL\Assuntos Gerais\expedidas – 1947 a 1959, Ibecc/Cnfl/-1042 and -1043). The letters refer to an appended questionnaire that was to be filled out; unfortunately I could not find this questionnaire in the CNFL archives, nor the reference book.

³⁵ Almeida, *Música Folclórica e Música Popular* (published as vol. 22 of the Comissão Gaúcha de Folclore, Porto Alegre, 1958), 12.

its authenticity as folklore.”³⁶ And in 1974, he revisited the topic, explicitly rejecting the samba schools’ music, dance, and songs—and Rio’s carnival itself—as folklore. In other words, none of these things was authentically Brazilian.

Perhaps unpredictably, the dispute found Edison Carneiro—a member of the Communist party, and no admirer of Vargas³⁷—on the establishment side of arguing for the authentic integrity and national relevance of the samba schools, although not at all for the official reasons; in fact he vehemently criticized state involvement with them. To understand how Carneiro interpreted the samba schools as embodying “national continuity,” we need to explore the concept of *folguedos*. A Portuguese word defying direct translation, *folguedos* refers to carnival manifestations or groups of revelers in general, but with the specific connotation of collective movement through public space—a festivity in motion, such as street parades and processions.

Folguedos and the Samba Schools

In his history of the CNFL, Vilhena observes that folklorists adopted the *folguedo* as not only an important subject of study but, more fundamentally, as a metaphor representing Brazilian culture in action—culture performed and created on the move. Decades earlier, Mário de Andrade had proposed that music was the greatest expression of Brazilian nationality, with new recognizably “national” styles of music rooted in

³⁶ Almeida, “O Samba Carioca,” Ibecc/Cnfl/Doc. 437, de 5/12/1959 (CNFCP DA: CNFL/1959\Documentos 418-438).

³⁷ Carneiro’s political leanings were well known among Bahian authorities, who, according to Maria Ferreira, used them as a convenient pretext to harass him for his published complaints about the treatment of indigenous people at the Paraguaçu Reservation in 1936. He was badly beaten on Christmas Day that year, and began to change residences often. Carneiro was specifically named in a telegram written 9 November 1937 (one day before Vargas’s imposition of the New State) to War Minister General Eurico Gaspar Dutra as being on the run with a standing arrest warrant. Maria Ferreira, “O Sexto Sentido do Pesquisador: A Experiência Etnográfica de Edison Carneiro,” Masters thesis, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, 2010, 66-67.

ethnic contributions (from the “three sad races,” especially African rhythm and European melody). But folklorists found the *folguedo* more evocative:

When the CNFL was founded, Andrade had already passed away, but the dominance of musicology in the folklore movement was clear—embodied in Renato Almeida, a trained musicologist who organized the CNFL, but also in the range of musicians and music institutions affiliated with it. Still, as the movement developed, their focus moved to the *folguedo*... Folklorists such as Rossini Tavares de Lima proposed the *folguedo* as a theme since it allowed for traditional culture that did not necessarily involve music, such as the *cavalhadas*, while it encompassed and recontextualized ethnicities in the Brazilian setting... This would be for them the most multidimensional, dynamic Brazilian folkloric manifestation, one that clearly illustrated that folklore was itself in constant development in the context of Brazil’s own recently-formed nationality.³⁸

Among folklorists, the view that the origins of Brazil’s unique cultural identity were separate from the country’s political independence bears the influence of Andrade.³⁹ The related idea that Brazil was too young a country to have many examples of organically established or “sedimented” folkloric manifestations was widespread,⁴⁰ with Roger Bastide speculating that Brazilian folklore’s un-crystallized, “extraordinary fluidity” was also based on the unstable colonial legacy of European precedents imposed on new agricultural regimes in South America, where the seasons were reversed.⁴¹ There was also the continuing significance of immigration to the cultural mixture.⁴²

For Carneiro, it was both the longer national histories of Europe and the United States and their more highly developed, stable, internally-integrated political and

³⁸ Vilhena, *Projeto e Missão*, 154-5, 275, 260-1.

³⁹ “The Brazilian nation came before the Brazilian race” (*Ensaio*, 13).

⁴⁰ The idea of youth as a protean, vulnerable condition also informed the nationalist project to teach folklore to young people. As physical education instructor Maria Giffoni wrote, “We are must habituate our youth to *our* rhythms, *our* dances, *our* songs, all of which the students see as less beautiful than what comes from abroad, because their ears, bodies, and minds have not yet learned to sense what our country is; their Brazilian spirit has not had time to mature.” Giffoni, *Danças Folclóricas Brasileiras*, 2nd ed. (São Paulo: Melhoramentos, 1964).

⁴¹ Roger Bastide, *Sociologia do Folclore Brasileiro* (São Paulo: Anhambi, 1959), 9, 47-8.

⁴² Almeida wrote to São Paulo folklorist Tavares de Lima in 1951 to request his help with a UNESCO study researching “aspects of the Italian contribution to the folklore of this State,” and the role of folklore in the “processes of acculturation of the Italian group.” Letter dated 23 May 1951, Ibec / CNFL 489 (CNFCP DA: Comissões Estaduais\SP\expedidas - 1948 a 1954).

socioeconomic structures that led to much of their folkloric phenomena, “especially those of collective execution, the dances and processions and *folguedos* in general, having reached a definitive form; they are performed not just by the popular classes but by all of society. In Brazil few such forms have stabilized.”⁴³ He argued that authentic folklore was to be found in *forms* that were uniquely national, emerging from the struggles between lower classes and elite society, and which served as enduring paradigms for ever-changing and actualizing *content*. The whole society was involved dialectically in creating folklore, but the folk, rather than being trapped by it, use it to project their “experiences and aspirations” into the future.⁴⁴ If Brazil’s elites are spectators of theatre and art based on international models, the “proletariat” performs its own authentic national theater.

Since starting to research the samba schools in the early 1950s, Carneiro had come to believe that they were a legitimate *folguedo* that innovated on the continuity of inherited folkloric material: the music and circle dances from the samba of Bahia, gaining new texture in Rio de Janeiro’s hillside shantytowns; and the song and dance parades with banners and floats derived from the older *ranchos de Reis*. “The traditional *ranchos*—commemorating the birth of Christ, or the journey of the Wise Kings—lost, in their transfer to the samba school, their religious elements and absorbed the profane trappings of Rei Momo. The samba school, synthesizing these popular elements, constitutes the marvel of Rio’s carnival.”⁴⁵ While critical of the effects of carnival regulations on their development, particularly judging and the competition it fueled, Carneiro was convinced that the schools’ creative evolution symbolized the vitality of

⁴³ Carneiro, “Antropologia e Folclore,” in *Dinâmica do Folclore*, 66.

⁴⁴ Carneiro, “Folclore,” in *A Sabedoria Popular do Brasil*, 18-9.

⁴⁵ Carneiro, “Escolas de Samba (I),” *Sabedoria Popular*, 128-9.

Brazilian *folguedos*, and of national culture: “of importance to not only the city, but the whole country... As they grow and expand, the schools will gain greater awareness of themselves, their strength and possibilities.”⁴⁶ Certainly they will become one of the most significant national popular organizations.”⁴⁷ In particular, he saw their social organization, fed by an organic “associative spirit” of cooperation, as a fundamental model to be followed for other Brazilian *folguedos*:

The samba schools have, from early on, organized themselves as communal groups and civil societies and hence, with the advantages that pertain to such entities, consolidated their forces and proliferated with such speed that no Rio neighborhood is without one. And from this derives their newer and higher forms of association, such as the General Union and the Federation of Samba Schools, and with the fusion of these two, the General Association—that has just about harmonized the entire family of samba. It is to this legal form of association, providing unity, stability, and responsibilities to the group while expanding its economic base that sooner or later all our *folguedos* must turn. It is only in this form that they will be able to survive, with the strength to resist negative impacts. If we desire to protect, stimulate, and restore our *folguedos*, would not it be advisable to induce them as soon as possible to take the path of civil society? ...The civil association constitutes an element of permanence for *folguedos*.⁴⁸

His conviction that the samba schools could offer Brazil as a whole a lesson in organic democracy drove his passion on the subject. Writing a few years earlier, he had explicitly linked the “new era” of Brazil’s folklore movement, embodied in the rise of the CNFL in 1947, with the “awakening of national consciousness reflected in the restructuring of the country in democratic bases.”⁴⁹ This was a recent and fragile development, and it was why he viewed the schools as the nation’s most important *folguedo*, since the “development of the associative spirit... is a national necessity” that could be valued and cultivated at the grassroots level with the samba schools, where

⁴⁶ Untitled. CNFCP DA: Série Edison Carneiro, Documentos\Textos\Samba/Escolas de Samba (2).

⁴⁷ Carneiro, “Escolas de Samba (I),” *Sabedoria Popular*, 133.

⁴⁸ Carneiro, “Proteção e Restauração dos Folguedos Populares,” 108-9.

⁴⁹ Carneiro, *O Folclore Nacional*, 19.

cooperation, craftsmanship, discipline, education and training, and democracy itself—through the elections of organizational leaders, parade kings and queens, and other real or symbolic offices—might lead to wider social transformations.⁵⁰ It was just such a result of folklore in action, of Brazilian culture on the march, that Carneiro hoped for. The growing divergence between his and Almeida's views would manifest in Carneiro's 1959 proposal to include Rio's samba schools in a study of folkloric samba across Brazil. In an uncharacteristically dramatic response, Almeida tried to marshal public opinion against the idea that the samba schools were folkloric manifestations. We now move to the importance of that study for the CNFL, and the controversy it sparked behind the scenes.

The Rise and Fall of the Samba Research Project

Although the CNFL was national in scope, its reliance on the enthusiasm of volunteers lent a patchwork quality to the character of its production. And merely collecting studies of folkloric material from around Brazil was inadequate to the leadership's broader goals. This would require carefully targeted official funding, and the deliberate crafting of strategies and projects that went beyond the substantial amateur membership of the CNFL itself. As early as 1951, the CNFL's Carta de Folclore Brasileiro—a sort of charter which, among other things, laid out a definition of folklore and articulated the group's mission—called for the President of the Republic to “promote, through means judged convenient to the interests of public administration, the creation of an agency of national character, dedicated to the defense of Brazil's folkloric patrimony and the protection of popular arts.” It was only in 1957 that this ambition began to bear fruit, when president Kubitschek pledged to create and fund a new entity to promote the study and protection of folklore: “It will not be easy, without studying our

⁵⁰ Carneiro, “Proteção e Restauração dos Folguedos Populares,” 107-8.

diverse cultural and historical roots—of which folklore registers the purest testimony—to perceive the national attitudes, necessities, and collective tendencies which must compose the social philosophy guiding the configuration and objectives of the Government.”⁵¹

The Campanha de Defesa do Folclore Brasileiro (Campaign in Defense of Brazilian Folklore, CDFB) was officially created on 5 February 1958, and inaugurated on 22 August that year by the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC).⁵² Four senior CNFL members composed its technical council: Almeida, Carneiro, Manuel Diégues Júnior, and Joaquim Ribeiro.⁵³ Serving as executive director would be Mozart de Araújo, then director of the Serviço de Rádiodifusão Educativa of MEC.⁵⁴ The defined goals of the CDFB were to promote the study, research, and divulgence of Brazilian folklore at the national level. Well before the inauguration, it was understood that the leaders of the CDFB would present their first initiative, “not a vision, but an executable project,” to the Ministry as soon as possible; Almeida assured his superiors in MEC that they would devise a plan “that addresses the need to research our folklore, and also intervenes to protect the cultural patrimony of our people.”⁵⁵

Stakes were thus extremely high, as the CDFB’s technical council began regular meetings in MEC chambers. By November 1958, their meeting minutes indicate that Edison Carneiro would be responsible for “elaborating the plan for research”—which, by

⁵¹ “III Congresso Brasileiro de Folclore: Discurso do Presidente Juscelino Kubitschek Instalando o Congresso (lido pelo Ministro Pascoal Carlos Magno).” Ibecc/Cnfl/Doc. 375, 24/7/57, CNFCP DA: 1957\Documentos 362-388.

⁵² “Decreto n. 43.178, de 5 Fevereiro de 1958 Institui a Campanha de Defesa do Folclore Brasileiro.” Ibecc/Cnfl/Doc. 398, 18/3/58. CNFCP: DA 1958\Documentos 389-417.

⁵³ “Instalação da Campanha de Defesa do Folclore Brasileiro,” Ibecc/CNFL/Doc. 409, 1/9/58. CNFCP DA: 1958\Documentos 389-417.

⁵⁴ Vilhena notes that nominating Araújo from outside the CNFL as director of the CDFB created a duality at the top of the CDFB that was likely intended to balance the “demands of the folklore movement and the interests of the government” (*Projeto e Missão*, 105-6).

⁵⁵ “Defesa e Proteção do Folclore Brasileiro,” Bulletin 118, CNFCP DA: 1957\Boletins 110-121.

April 1959, was revealed to be on “Samba.”⁵⁶ Delays continued into late September, although the scope of the project’s title had been expanded to include “Samba and dances derived from the Batuque.” Finally, in September, Carneiro circulated his research plan for members to read before taking it up for discussion the following week. This was to be not only the flagship project of the CDFB, but a model for all their ensuing projects in terms of scale, research logistics, administrative oversight, and theoretical approach.⁵⁷ Directed by Carneiro, it was to involve roving teams of assistants for interviews and archival research, specialists in dance, music, and popular verse, and the mobilization of local folklorists; federal funding would provide for technology including cameras (still and motion-picture) and audio recording equipment. Although he initially identified important regions for studying forms of Brazilian samba, such as Rio Grande do Norte, Alagoas, Bahia, São Paulo, the D.F., São Paulo and Maranhão, the project was intended to be thoroughly national: “Possibly there are forms of samba in Pernambuco, Paraíba, Ceará, or Piauí. But where, exactly? In which communities? Before beginning this project a reconnaissance trip should be taken to these states to solicit information from the state folklore sub-commissions, and other local informants.”⁵⁸

There was a pragmatic angle to Carneiro’s selection of samba as a research topic; he had recently completed a manuscript, the as-yet unpublished “Samba de Umbigada,” which explored both the African roots of the *batuque* and diverse forms of Brazilian samba and circle dances deriving from it, located principally in the northeast. He had given this manuscript to the other members of the technical council for contextual

⁵⁶ Meeting minutes, 7th Extraordinary Reunion, 14/4/1959 (CNFCP: CDFB Atas de Reuniões, 1958-1961).

⁵⁷ Meeting minutes, 10th Extraordinary Session, 16/5/1959. CNFCP: CDFB Atas de Reuniões, 1958-1961.

⁵⁸ Carneiro, “Plano da Pesquisa do Samba,” dated 9/10/1959. CNFCP DA: Série Edison Carneiro, Documentos\Textos\Pesquisa do Samba.

information, and also suggested in the plan that “To provide perspective to the researcher, it would be useful to publish my booklet on the varieties of danced samba, for in there is presented what we know and do not know, as well as some hypotheses and assumptions to be tested through fieldwork.”⁵⁹ This seems to verify that “Samba de Umbigada” was written several years before it was published, in 1961. It also shows that, for the purposes of the CDFB pilot plan, Carneiro was not embarking on completely new territory.⁶⁰ But his earlier efforts validated his present interest and convictions regarding samba as a genuine, unique Brazilian family of cultural manifestations—whether the musicians and dancers performed it in circles, pairs, lines, or parades; whether situated in casual weekend parties in Brazil’s rural northeast, or the bustle, pomp, and splendor of carnival in the urban southeast. Inspired by Andrade’s cross-country trips to collect folk music a generation before, he was ambitiously proposing a sort of mapping of the Brazilian nation through the lens of folkloric samba:

“The research, whether national or local, must include an investigation of the folkloric function of samba—dates, motives, preferences, the needs it meets; identification of the participants, and the particular and general conditions they bring to the samba; the ways they maintain their traditions; and an evaluation of the social integration of samba... The study must consider the influence of the physical and social environments on samba, and the wider repercussion of these on the society and customs whether local, regional, or national. The local modifications of samba, and the importance of samba in the lives of both poor and wealthy people, can be traced only through such a vast collection of data. From

⁵⁹ Carneiro, “Plano da Pesquisa do Samba.”

⁶⁰ His research into what would become “Samba de Umbigada” may have been influenced by an earlier 1952 CNFL document in which Lindolfo Gomes of the CNFL’s executive council attempted to trace genealogies of diverse forms of samba in Brazil, utilizing both ethnographic sources (including Carneiro’s own 1937 book *Negros Bantus*) and etymological evidence. In counterpoint to Carneiro’s views, Gomes repeats the observations of writer Agenor Lopes de Oliveira traditional carnival in Rio de Janeiro was degenerating into “anarchy and tumult,” asserting that the emphasis on Afro-Brazilian samba schools has come at the cost of Rio’s locally authentic *cordões carnavalescas* composed of people “from all social classes.” Gomes concurs with Oliveira that both “Afro-American” and “Afro-Brazilian” influences are to be considered “foreign” in terms of their detrimental effects on local tradition. “Parecer de Lindolfo Gomes, sobre a memoria apresentada ao 1 Congresso de Folclore, pelo Dr. Agenor Lopes de Oliveira,” Ibecc/Cnfl/Doc.253 de 12/3/1952 (CNFCP DA: CNFL\1952\Documentos 243-271).

this effort, in its entirety, we will attain an understanding of the phenomenon in its *actual, contemporary* condition—which is the aim of all folkloric research.”⁶¹

Notably, Carneiro envisioned research beginning in the city of Rio de Janeiro, in November, during the run-up to carnival. His own experience exploring samba schools earlier in the decade gave him a sense of the complexity of the task. Initially there should be interviews with the “veterans of samba” at their headquarters; an overall investigation of the many samba schools’ histories and characteristics (origins, composers, themes, positions in carnival, socioeconomic profiles); and no less daunting, archival research into newspapers and magazines “from the last forty years, about samba.” He observed that the “peculiar conditions of the capital will make this part of the project slow and arduous, especially given the connections between samba and popularesque music styles—both current and older (e.g. *lundu* and *modinha*), and their corresponding social dances... Because of the number of samba schools and the many places to study samba in the D.F., three complete research teams will be needed beyond the preliminary workers. The project will demand five to six months, given the difficulties in transport, large distances, and the fact that accessibility to informants will likely be limited to weekends.”

At the next week’s meeting, Almeida flatly rejected the idea of including the samba schools themselves, “as well as the samba performed by these schools,” in the project. He maintained that perhaps a separate investigation could be undertaken to specify what aspects of their music might derive from folklore in particular cases. According to the sequence of events recorded in the minutes, Carneiro and Manuel Diégues Júnior immediately defended the inclusion of the samba schools as legitimate folklore; Diégues’s favorable opinion might have been predicted, given his view of the

⁶¹ Carneiro, “Plano da Pesquisa do Samba.”

samba schools as representing a traditional *folgado*. CDFB director Mozart de Araújo intervened in what must have been a highly tense moment, suggesting that the project might be modified to include a preliminary targeted analysis “of the various types of melody present in the samba schools’ music, so as to exclude what is not folkloric.” The meeting ended on that note.⁶² But Almeida had clearly been preoccupied with the issue all week. He presented to the Technical Council a five-page typewritten explanation of his position as to why the samba schools were not predominantly folkloric in character—and, more to the point, why the CDFB must not be seen as portraying them as such.

Almeida’s text,⁶³ by turns professorial and exhortatory, centered on two basic points regarding the schools’ music and their nature as carnival organizations. First, he argued that while it was irrefutable that some examples of the schools’ samba contained “important folkloric elements,” this was not sufficient to characterize their cultural production as a whole as folklore. He referred to several national and international debates earlier in the decade over the nature of folkloric music, and was careful to cite an array of specialists from Brazil, France, the United States, and Spain in support of his argument that folk music relied on oral transmission, collective creation, and collective acceptance, its innovations associated directly with the “functional life” and needs of the people. That is, folk music was the product of a “musical tradition evolving through oral diffusion, conditioned by *continuity* that links the present to the past; *variability*, that emanates from individual and collective creative impulses; and *community selection*, that determines the form of its survival.” Folk music exists to serve some communal need, and the folk spontaneously modify it. But the schools’ carnival sambas have recognized

⁶² Meeting minutes, 21st Extraordinary Session, 16/10/1959. CNFCP: CDFB Atas de Reuniões, 1958-1961.

⁶³ An untitled copy of his text was appended to the 16/10/1959 meeting minutes.

authors (who may in some cases appropriate and “rearrange” folkloric elements, especially the syncopation), while the songs are not subject to collective acceptance and natural modification but rehearsed to perfection within a hierarchical structure in order to win contests, and subsequently replaced each year according to “transitory fashion.” Almeida ridiculed a selection of recent “semi-erudite” carnival *enredo* themes—including a celebration of the founding of the city of São Paulo,⁶⁴ and an homage to Cleopatra—and concluded that the schools’ samba “is not folkloric, it is popular.”⁶⁵

The distinction between the content of the music (traditional and folkloric or not), and the surrounding structural context of its production, led Almeida to a broader critique of carnival’s dangerous power to integrate and affirm nontraditional or mass-culture influences, then to officialize them into publicly accepted but artificial national forms. The samba schools were not community manifestations but hierarchical, goal-driven organizations with directors and authorities imposing the *enredo* themes on performers, and ordering all the other diverse aspects of a school’s performance. Unlike true folklore groups that coalesce and disband around the practice of a particular *folgado*, they maintained a recreational existence (increasingly commercially-focused, with fundraising rehearsals and parties) outside the carnival season at their headquarters “where they

⁶⁴ The idea to include samba schools in a a folklore demonstration representing all of Brazil’s regional diversity during the 1954 festivities of the four-hundred year anniversary of São Paulo had been floated by the president of the city’s IV Centenary Organizing Commission in a letter to Almeida (21 October 1952). Those festivities were to coincide with a Folklore Congress also taking place in São Paulo. It is not clear from the archives whether a samba school actually performed there to represent the Federal District, but Portela’s *enredo* for the 1954 carnival was “São Paulo Quatrocentão.”

⁶⁵ While all the schools’ *enredos* were of a generally patriotic and historical character, it was coincidental to the folklorists’ disagreement that, according to Amaury Jório and Hiram Araujo, 1958 was the first year a Rio intellectual from outside the local *favela* community took over the directorship of a samba school and influenced its *enredo*. They credit Nelson de Andrade with bringing both more literary complexity and more elaborate visual art development to the Acadêmicos de Salgueiro with such themes as “Viagens Pitorescas Através do Brasil (Debret)” (1959), “O Quilombo de Palmares” (1960), and “Vida e Obra de Aleijadinho” (1961). Jório and Araujo, *Escolas de samba em desfile: Vida, paixão e sorte* (Rio de Janeiro, 1969), 119-120, 293.

dance to foreign salon music, played on the phonograph, as I myself have witnessed.” They do not have a legitimate “traditional continuity,” but substitute the older *ranchos* with an “organizational form, an institutionalization, that absolutely distances them from folklore. And they are being founded now in various cities around Brazil, a fact that is best left without comment.” He made a grandiose appeal to the Technical Council to not jeopardize their opportunity and prestige by including such groups in a study of folklore:

“This Council, composed of such illustrious folklorists and with clear doctrinal responsibilities which have been established through books, essays, and assembly votes, simply cannot decide to perturb concepts that are invariably accepted in every country and taken unanimously as characteristics of the science of folklore. We cannot invent folklore, nor make a parody of our talent, because this Council would not deserve its mission if, in a topic so current and important, it did not prove itself capable of clear delimitations and inescapable definitions.”

Almeida did not stop there. In a departure from his habitual polished discretion, he quickly submitted this essay for publication under the title “O Samba Carioca,” with certain significant revisions, in both the major Rio newspaper *Diário de Notícias*⁶⁶ and the CNFL documents series.⁶⁷ He excised the paragraph directed to the Council, and made the introduction more accessible to a general audience. But he also inserted an excerpt from Carneiro’s own “Samba de Umbigada” in a key spot, where he was discussing “pure” folklore versus that “contaminated” by other elements. In the new version, he stated that the still-authentic *samba de roda*, often referred to as *partido alto* in Rio de Janeiro, could in fact be observed as a living tradition in the backyards of the schools’ headquarters: “I myself have seen it. But, according to Edison Carneiro, ‘It is not performed for the mass public, nor does it demand the larger percussion orchestra of the samba schools. To only the sound of the *reco-reco* (scraper), knife and plate,

⁶⁶ 22 November 1959.

⁶⁷ Ibccc/Cnfl/Doc.437, de 5/12/1959 (CNFCP DA: 1959\Documentos 418-438).

chocalho (rattle), and traditional verses, just as in Bahia—based on a phrase over which the singer improvises—a single dancer, male or female, occupies the center of the circle, passing the turn to another with a symbolic touch of the navel.” Almeida’s new text then continued on to his previously written paragraphs on how the carnival music of the samba schools was innately popular, with some limited folkloric influence, but it now did so with the seeming imprimatur of Edison Carneiro—a recognized authority whose words he had taken out of context, and who now found his initiative intercepted. Almeida did not publicize his disagreement with Carneiro, but in a more cunning move used Carneiro’s words against his interests. To argue with Almeida in a public forum would now be doubly difficult, since Almeida’s argument recuperated Carneiro’s words into providing evidence for Almeida’s point that, in their cultural production, the schools knowingly distinguished between their folkloric heritage and the carnivalized stuff of mass consumption. If Carneiro were to publicly advocate for his project, he would appear to be contradicting his own views as Almeida already represented them unless he were to also air the details of their disagreement and allege Almeida’s intellectual impropriety, a move that Almeida correctly predicted he would be loath to make.

Ultimately, five days after Almeida’s newspaper piece appeared, Carneiro resigned as the coordinator of the samba research project, alleging “excessive and undue intrusions” by members of the CDFB in the coordinator’s functions.⁶⁸ Events that began unfolding in mid-October around the samba pilot plan led to the abandoning of the entire project, and ultimately, due in part to incessant budget cuts and the difficulty of reaching consensus, no other folklore research plan of an equal national scale was ever proposed

⁶⁸ Meeting minutes, 25th Extraordinary Reunion, 27/11/1959. CNFCP: CDFB Atas de Reuniões, 1958-1961.

again by the CDFB.⁶⁹ In 1960, Carneiro may have tried again to propose a specific study of the samba schools; an April meeting itinerary includes reference to a document called “Suggestions for Researching the Music of the Samba Schools.”⁷⁰ The appended four-page document goes into great detail with interview topics, research themes and even tips for making audio recordings of the typical instruments alone and in ensemble; it bears the handwritten name of pianist / composer Aloisio de Alencar Pinto (1911-2007), who perhaps prepared the plan at Carneiro’s request. Despite being listed for discussion, according to the meeting minutes the document was not formally addressed at all.

Carneiro became director of the CDFB in March 1961, a time of political and economic instability that severely constrained the organization’s activities. But Carneiro voiced his opinions regarding the samba schools again in late 1962, as president and one of the chief planners of the First National Samba Congress—a series of presentations and brainstorming sessions on the problems and future of authentic samba that brought together impresarios and radio personalities, journalists (including José Ramos Tinhorão), leaders of samba schools, composers and musicians (such as Pixinguinha and Ari Barroso). Over four days, participants debated numerous themes from protecting tradition to copyright concerns; Carneiro wrote a summary of the conclusions in the form of a “Samba Charter” published by the CDFB and freely distributed to “friends of samba” and anyone interested in the issue.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Later CDFB projects were focused more narrowly on states, such as Minas Gerais and São Paulo, and relied on the work of local folklorists (Carneiro, “Evolução dos Estudos Folclóricos no Brasil”).

⁷⁰ Meeting minutes, 27th Extraordinary Reunion, 29/04/1960. CNFCP: CDFB Atas de Reuniões, 1958-1961.

⁷¹ When Mozart Araújo stepped down, Carneiro’s nomination came down from the office of Jânio Quadros himself.

Carneiro took the opportunity to set forth his argument from the abandoned CDFB research project that samba needed to be comprehended as a national phenomenon, not something created in or unique to Rio de Janeiro. But the participants also debated other, more local issues.⁷² One point of their consensus was the urgent need to “fuse” the competing organizations of samba schools—the Association (1952) and the Confederation (1951); their discord was based on artificial divergences that kept the “family of samba divided... We all desire that in the carnival of 1963, the samba schools will parade as one under the shared flag of a single organization.”⁷³ The idea that feuds based on expressions of ego, harmful loyalties, and the false perception of distinct priorities among the schools themselves hindered the realization of their ideal associative spirit was troubling to Carneiro. And once it finally came, the year after Carneiro’s death, official solidarity among samba schools proved short-lived.⁷⁴ The Congress’s most enduring result was perhaps symbolic—the establishment by law of December 2 as “Samba Day” in Guanabara state (later recognized nationally).⁷⁵ A second congress, intended for 1963, did not meet. But the model of the Samba Congress was followed later by a series of “samba symposia”—now principally sponsored not by the CDFB but by the

⁷² This point received favorable publicity in the newspaper *Última Hora*: “Samba é o ritmo da integração nacional” (28 January 1963).

⁷³ Carneiro, *Carta do Samba*, 13.

⁷⁴ In 1973, the Brazilian Confederation of Samba Schools became the umbrella representative organization for all schools throughout the country, but this lasted only until around 1980. And in 1984, another large group, the Association of Samba Schools of Brazil, suffered a schism when Rio’s most famous schools (e.g. Salgueiro, Beija-Flor, Mangueira, Portela) broke off to form the Independent League of Samba Schools to be able to pursue “marketing interests” more autonomously. Araújo, *Carnaval*, 576-579.

⁷⁵ Curiously, Governor Carlos Lacerda vetoed the bill, saying that samba already had three days of dedication on the calendar—carnival. The state congress overturned his veto on 28 July 1964 (“O Dia do Samba,” <http://comments.gmane.org/gmane.music.brazil.samba-choro/11278>, accessed 08 June 2011).

Guanabara tourism board—in which diverse ideas on problems facing the schools continued to be aired.⁷⁶

However, as the decade unfolded, any chance of changing the way Rio's carnival had been structured since the mid-1930s seemed to recede further, due to factors both within and beyond the schools. Carneiro's diverse critiques focused on how judging divided the schools and affected their culture production; how the influence of politicians created dependency, through populist strategies of informal support; and the effects of tourism. Carneiro's greatest concern was how Rio's carnival itself, as a commercialized, competitive spectacle, consolidated these forces to the detriment of the samba schools—who, he thought, were losing their sense of true identity in the effort to please wider audiences of viewers.⁷⁷ Where Almeida saw the schools as manifestations of mass culture's machinations, Carneiro analyzed their "corruptions" largely as the result of external forces impacting their folkloric integrity.

The Carneiro / Almeida Dispute over Samba, Folklore, and "Brazilian Reality"

Carneiro's research proposal had hoped to use samba's pervasiveness, balanced with its distinctly regionalized developments, its adaptations of cultural material, and its localized social relations, as a lens into Brazilian reality and the unity within diversity.

⁷⁶ At the third symposium (1969), many speakers voiced concern over the increasing participation of professionals in the schools. But a representative of the school Acadêmicos de Salgueiro responded deferentially that "erudite artists" needed to work alongside popular ones in the research, design and production of Rio's carnival culture because "they can best preserve the truth against possible degeneration." Symposia were held in 1966, 1967, 1975, 1978, and 1979.

⁷⁷ Carneiro was especially galled that the competitions that weakened the schools' solidarity featured the spurious motivation of winning "ridiculous" prizes, from miniscule cash awards to "sporting trophies, busts of great men, equestrian statues, and other trinkets that no one knows what to do with" ("Escolas de Samba – II," 86-7). It seems not unrelated to Carneiro's public complaints about the inadequacies and improprieties of the judging system that, in both 1957 and 1959, he received formal invitations from the director of Rio's Department of Tourism and Certames to participate as a judge in the competition of the largest schools. Letters to Carneiro: from Nelson Baptista, 1 March 1957; from Abellard França, 7 February 1959 (CNFCP Série Edison Carneiro, Documentos\Correspondências\Escolas de Samba\Departamento de Turismo e Certames 1957/1959).

Through researching samba, the wider goal was to effectively link folklore to a multidisciplinary social and cultural study of Brazil itself.⁷⁸ Notably, Almeida had once accepted the samba schools as folkloric, at least until the mid-1950s when his theoretical concerns with respect to musical purity became both more internationally engaged and more rigid. His 1958 publication *Música Folclórica e Música Popular*, summarizing recent Brazilian and international attempts to distinguish folk music from popular music, specified that neither the music of the samba schools nor the “radio sambas” performed by bands were inherently folkloric though they contained folkloric influences; whereas an earlier version of this piece, published in 1954, did not mention samba at all.⁷⁹

How could two eminent folklorists interpret the same phenomenon so differently? Their conflict derived from two basic points, which can be clarified by placing their views in a wider intellectual context. First was the problematic of cities and urban culture within the field of Brazilian folklore. Almeida expressed the widely shared belief among tradition-minded culture observers in midcentury Brazil that cities were conduits of international trends and the throwaway consumerist wiles of the culture industry, and he was uncomfortable with urban folklore even if he gradually came to acknowledge some narrow possibilities for its manifestation. Obviously, in contrast, urban folklore composed one of Carneiro’s central research programs during his long affiliation with the CNFL and CDFB; his view of folklore in Rio de Janeiro in particular, articulated in an unpublished essay, was heavily focused on carnival manifestations in different historical

⁷⁸“Many of the configurations of samba were born here in Brazil, as the direct result of the cultural contact between slaves and freed men in the past, and between blacks, whites, and mulattoes in all social conditions in the present. How does samba reflect the transformations that were produced, and are still being produced, by the Brazilian social structure?” Carneiro, *Samba de Umbigada*, 46-50.

⁷⁹ “Música folclórica e música popular,” *Diário de Notícias*, 28 November 1954. For a slightly earlier era in Rio’s carnival, the 1910s, and 1920s, Marc Hertzman describes the close-knit nature of professional musicians and orchestras with carnival performance (“Surveillance and Difference,” chapter 6).

periods.⁸⁰ Urban folklore had been addressed earlier, in the conclusion of Mario de Andrade's 1928 "Essay on Brazilian Music," a work which provided much of the intellectual foundation for the modern folklore movement. Andrade had highlighted the depth of rural-urban interchange in Brazil, due to the country's history of cultural and economic development; if urbanism had "deleterious effects" on cultural traditions, these were not all pervasive and could be escaped, even within cities themselves.⁸¹ Almeida tended to view Brazil's cities as emitters of homogenizing, falsely "popular" culture that invaded and weakened folklore in the rural interior. In his essay "The Formation of Brazilian Popular Music," he aligned such an argument—in terms that seemed to reply directly to Andrade—with a strong critique of carnival as a principal vector of that degradation.⁸² But if Almeida was responding to Andrade, he emphasized only one side of the rural-urban exchange: that of the influence of the city on the country. He ignored the possibility of genuine popular music existing in the city, choosing not to pursue or update the examples Andrade gave of the *choro* and *modinha*.⁸³ Andrade asserted that "To deny the idea of national popular music only because it does not have fixed forms, or to deny the possibility of urban folklore just because it is urban, is not to recognize

⁸⁰ Edison Carneiro, "Folclore no Rio de Janeiro," CNFCP DA: Série Edison Carneiro, Documentos \Textos\Folclore no Rio de Janeiro. See also his "Elementos Novos no Folclore Carioca" (in *Sabedoria Popular*), which describes the new carnival presence of *frevo* and *afoxé*, brought by migrants.

⁸¹ Andrade, *Ensaio sobre a Música Brasileira*, 166.

⁸² "Civilization is invading the interior such that a village today, even if protected by economic conditions, is tomorrow a city with electric lights, cinema, and radio. The example of the state of São Paulo is formidable: the interior lives in such inescapable contact with the centers of civilization that they affect its way of life. But across Brazil, everyone sings the sambas and marches from Rio's carnival, which urbanizes our true popular song, deforming its characteristics and imposing strange cosmopolitan influences. In the cities, the industrialization of popular music has reached a paroxysm, and few care for originality outside the fashions and whims of the salons, that, in carnival above all, prefer the exotic and titillating." Almeida, "A Formação da Música Popular Brasileira," manuscript at the CNFCP, Documentos de Renato Almeida.

⁸³ Andrade, *Ensaio sobre a Música Popular Brasileira*, 167.

Brazilian reality.”⁸⁴ The reality that Almeida preferred to highlight was of small rural towns that, as bastions of authentic folklore, needed to be “protected” by both the maintenance of “economic conditions” (a thin euphemism for pre-modernity) and the avoidance of contact with Rio’s carnival influences.

Second, Carneiro and Almeida disagreed on how Brazil’s folklore should be researched and comprehended in the global context—that is, whether apparent national specificity was an aberration to be re-theorized, or a sort of irreducible truth of national identity that the field of folklore could uniquely reveal. The question of a rural-urban split was a subset of this larger problem; Andrade had noted that while European definitions typically cast urban folklore as “impure,” that was simply not possible to assert in Brazil. Another example of this contrast resides in how the two colleagues responded to the iconoclastic American folklorist Richard Dorson (1916-1981). Almeida had embraced Dorson’s term “fakelore” to denigrate officialized or commercialized simulations of true folklore, but he rejected Dorson’s argument that each country might benefit from the development of nationally appropriate, “determined angles” for its own folklore study. Instead, Almeida countered, although the researcher should respect the “folkloric substrate” of each nationality the work was only legitimate and useful if it related categorically to the “life of the folk in and of itself,” with the folk defined in global terms independent of national inflection.⁸⁵ But Carneiro leveraged Dorson to support his interpretation, grounded in the nationalist tradition of Andrade, that Brazil (like every nation) has a particular cultural history or “arc of tradition” that the contemporary Westernized social sciences were perhaps ill-equipped to explain thoroughly. The

⁸⁴ Andrade, *Ensaio sobre a Música Popular Brasileira*, 167.

⁸⁵ Almeida, “O Folclore no Quadro das Ciências,” 37-8.

regionalism, fragmentation, and continual re-combination of Brazilian folklore (similar to other Latin American countries but deeply unlike, he maintained, that of Europe and the United States and other more established societies) required explanations based in research into actual Brazilian reality.⁸⁶ Carneiro did not reject international models and theories, but unlike Almeida, did not relish the conceptual give-and-take in international conferences to create a middle ground palatable to all participants. He was not convinced that definitions encompassing enough to be acceptable to (say) Australian, Swedish and French folklorists were necessarily the most apt for comprehending Brazil—a unique complex of social, ethnic, postcolonial, political, and economic forces that had produced the samba schools in Rio de Janeiro’s carnival as a glimpse of the democratic potential latent in the national character.

Perhaps another key to the intellectual tension between the two folklorists resides in ideological disagreement: Carneiro was a member of Brazil’s Communist party (PCB), while Almeida was a political conservative. This had the potential to affect their conceptions of what folklore was (as both content and process): e.g., in Carneiro’s Marxist-inflected analysis of Brazil’s folklore-producing “proletariat” who struggle against “exploiters” to transform society, and whose folklore can be read as a text of their aspirations and sense of justice. He tended to focus on the state apparatus as most responsible for imposing discipline and destructive values on the schools, not the middle class, although he was concerned with keeping jazz and foxtrot out of samba. Ideology could also have influenced his decision to avoid emphasizing the samba schools as being essentially Afro-Brazilian manifestations, since he held a vision of Brazil’s lower classes as a whole entity which needed to discover its shared identities and interests through

⁸⁶ Carneiro, “Evolução dos Estudos de Folclore no Brasil,” 173.

folguedos organized into associations. Asserting racial distinctions here would complicate that national project. Meanwhile, Almeida flatly denied that considerations of economic class had meaning within folklore study, especially since he believed that “folklore is a mechanism for the maintenance and stability of culture,” not its transformation.⁸⁷

The samba schools were more central to this broad debate over folklore, national identity and social class than they might first appear. Valéria Guimarães has shown that by the mid-1940s, Brazil’s Communist party, stimulated by the participation of noted writers, artists and intellectuals, entered into a new wave of consolidation and public outreach; this included involvement with samba schools as a means to engage with urban lower-class populations.⁸⁸ PCB members sponsored samba parades and parties for samba schools, combining them with speeches by Jorge Amado, Luiz Carlos Prestes and others attempting to raise the school members’ consciousness, enhance solidarity, and stimulate voting for PCB candidates. Guimarães suggests that the ambassadors of cultural politics amongst the PCB tended to construct an image of the *sambistas* “as a portrait of the people who are suffering, yet somehow still happy, creative, and talented... and carrying an enormous revolutionary potential.”⁸⁹ Clearly, Carneiro nurtured his later ideas within this intellectual and activist milieu. In 1946, while still working as a journalist in Rio de Janeiro, he gave a presentation on Zumbi and the *quilombo* of Palmares at the district committee headquarters of the Brazilian Communist Party in Madureira, a lower-class neighborhood in Rio’s north zone that was the home of the major samba schools Portela

⁸⁷ Almeida, “O Folclore no Quadro das Ciências,” 45.

⁸⁸ Celebrated members included Mário de Andrade, Carlos Drummond de Andrade, and Graciliano Ramos. Valéria Lima Guimarães, *O PCB Cai no Samba: Os Comunistas e a Cultura Popular, 1945-1950* (Rio de Janeiro: Arquivo Público do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, 2009).

⁸⁹ Guimarães, *O PCB Cai no Samba*, 124.

and Império Serrano.⁹⁰ He also served among the judges at a PCB-sponsored samba school competition that year whose motives may have included deepening an informal alliance between the General Union of Samba Schools (UGES) and the Communist party before an upcoming city council election.⁹¹ And the division between organizations representing the samba schools that Carneiro urged resolving in his 1962 Samba Charter has much of its origins in this era—in January 1947, political journalist Oyama Brandão Teles of the *Correio da Manhã* founded the Brazilian Federation of Samba Schools (FBES) in order to attract members away from, and weaken, the more PCB-friendly UGES.⁹² This new group received support from Brazil’s repressive Division of Social and Political Order (DOPS), leading the city to stop giving subsidies for carnival participation to schools affiliated with the potentially dangerous UGES. This was several years before Carneiro joined the CNFL, and he embarked on his initial official folkloric research of the samba schools in 1950-3. In those postwar years, other intellectuals friendly to the PCB were addressing local audiences composed of “half samba school members and half police keeping an eye on the event,” while the communist journal *Tribuna Popular*, distributed throughout the *favelas*, featured a series called “Samba in the City” as well as articles about samba schools, information on rehearsals, *enredo* lyrics, and encouraged competitions for “Samba Citizen.”⁹³

The rest of the 1950s would be marked by intense debates and fractionalizing within the PCB itself, but the party remained active amongst the samba community as with Rio’s urban laborers generally. And the PCB’s activities remained actively

⁹⁰ *Tribuna Popular*, 28 April 1946.

⁹¹ Cruz, “As Escolas de Samba sob Vigilância e Censura na Ditadura Militar,” 54-5.

⁹² Cruz, “As Escolas de Samba sob Vigilância e Censura na Ditadura Militar,” 56.

⁹³ Cruz, “As Escolas de Samba sob Vigilância e Censura na Ditadura Militar,” 52, 55.

scrutinized by the police and state infiltrators through an official program of vigilance, as international tension over the Cold War slowly mounted and Castro's takeover of Cuba approached in early 1959.⁹⁴ Later that year, Carneiro brought his national samba research idea to the table of the CDFB.

In response to Carneiro's proposal for including samba schools in the definition of genuine national folklore, Almeida was emphatic in listing many reasons why the schools should be disqualified—from dance steps to costumes, from their lack of functionality (since he did not deem carnival “functional” in any sense) and hierarchical organization to the fact that their presentations focused not on subjects of folkloric continuity but on mythology and patriotic themes. The urgent tone and scattershot quality of Almeida's refutations by 1959 and beyond hints at a discomfort with the wider reputation of the samba schools as, if certainly not part of the Communist movement itself, at least historically linked (and vulnerable) to the PCB's attempts to consciousness-raise among the urban proletariat toward a Marxist revolution. And Carneiro's profile as a leftist was well known in Rio's elite circles; his appointment as director of the CDFB in 1961 generated an angry editorial in *Vozes* magazine, denouncing him as a Marxist.⁹⁵

With the onset of the coup in 1964, Carneiro, a known member of Brazil's Communist party, was quickly ousted and charged with corruption. Before his death in 1972, Carneiro told a reporter of his deepening preoccupation with the “disfigurations” of Rio's samba schools, and revealed that in recent summers he preferred to travel to Santos

⁹⁴ Cruz, “As Escolas de Samba sob Vigilância e Censura na Ditadura Militar,” 52.

⁹⁵ “We do not understand the nomination of Sr. Carneiro to lead the campaign in defense of our folklore... [He is] completely oriented around a Marxist vision, which insists on seeing everything within an economic framework, giving little credence to the importance of religion in the survival of folklore outside what comes from the *terreiros* of *candomblé*. He has an antipathy to traditionalism, which is undeniably linked to a sectarian position... he is not an impartial scholar but an impassioned proselyte.” *Revista Vozes*, May 1961.

for carnival, where he enjoyed the smaller schools from the rural interior far more than the grand ones in Rio.⁹⁶ According to the period writings of critics such as Sérgio Cabral, José Ramos Tinhorão and Hiram Araújo as well as Carneiro, some of these “disfigurations” in the late 1960s were directly impacting the presentations of the schools during carnival, while others, less visible but no less pervasive, were affecting the values and internal cultures of the schools. First, new carnival regulations reduced the parade times for each school, leading to shorter and faster songs to fit the entire *enredo* theme into condensed durations, while the combined effects of television broadcast aesthetics and touristic performances amplified the schools’ visual qualities of spectacle and theatricality.⁹⁷ Second, the persistent need for the schools to attract outside financial support to remain competitive, since the government did not officially sponsor them (beyond small cash awards at carnival, and the not infrequent illicit contributions made by individual politicians) increasingly chafed against the opportunity for specialists to make lots of money through their work as choreographers, visual artists, et cetera. The result was a growing capitalization of the mindset of participants, as everyone could see a few people earning fees and salaries, and would begin to ask for payment as well.

But the schools as a whole had enormous expenses, and a principal means to support those financial needs had been found in the leaders of Rio’s animal-based lottery (*jogo de bicho*). As a form of gambling, the lottery was illegal, but still widely pursued, and its mafia-like networks of executives based in Rio (strategically so, after the transfer of Brazil’s federal police and justice systems to Brasília in 1960) were extremely wealthy; individual leaders would sponsor “their” samba schools and, in a classic

⁹⁶ “Folclore de luto por Edison Carneiro,” *Última Hora*, 4 December 1972.

⁹⁷ “Samba fora da lei: Eu acuso.”

patronage arrangement, be able to call on the school for support. Cruz suggests that in the 1970s, many of the illicit lottery chiefs not only avidly patronized and encouraged the growth of spectacular gigantism of carnival samba (since they could deduct their contributions to culture from taxes, or appear to have less money overall), they also encouraged hyper-patriotic parade themes to placate the military generals.⁹⁸

The schools' directors adapted to the entrenching mass-mediation and disputed "ownership" of Rio's carnival by demanding royalty payments from television broadcasters. The state stepped in to mediate in 1972. TV Rio claimed to have purchased exclusive broadcast and filming rights, but TV Globo argued that because carnival was a "popular festival, a popular spectacle which everyone has the right to see," the company would not honor illegitimate contracts written to exclude their cameras from capturing the events.⁹⁹ For their part, the Association of Samba Schools tried to negotiate its own contracts with broadcasters, arguing that carnival represented an "artistic work" not of folkloric anonymity but of the schools' authorship—hence payments were due. It was frankly inevitable, given the ceaseless growth in carnival, the rapid expansion of Brazil's media industries, and Rio's reliance on tourism, that the old debate over the definition of the "popular" would have descended from the heights of theory to be crabbed over in drier terms by lawyers on all sides. Ultimately the state, perceiving the advantages of numerous media outlets broadcasting images of Rio's carnival around Brazil, rescinded the exclusivity clause and itself took control of transmission contracts.¹⁰⁰

Meanwhile, the national musicians' union, the Order of Musicians of Brazil, was intersecting the situation in complex ways. The Order had been created in late 1960 to

⁹⁸ Cruz, "As Escolas de Samba sob Vigilância e Censura na Ditadura Militar," 41-2.

⁹⁹ Rodrigues, *Samba Negro, Espoliação Branco*, 87-8.

¹⁰⁰ Rodrigues, *Samba Negro, Espoliação Branco*, 89.

perform “the selection, discipline, defense, and oversight of the exercise of the musical profession” across Brazil.¹⁰¹ This organization, too, reflected the growth, significance, and increasing professionalization of culture industries in Brazil, especially as the country’s music was reaching new global prominence through João Gilberto’s breakthrough *bossa nova* recordings in 1958 and the samba-heavy soundtrack of the 1959 French-Brazilian film *Black Orpheus*. (Building on that momentum, the first full-length recording of samba school *batucada* percussion, Luciano Perrone’s 1959 *Batucada Fantástica*, won a prestigious French music award in 1967.¹⁰²) On the one hand, the Order encouraged a sense of collective endorsement of and involvement in popular music through holding a contest open to the public during Rio’s 1963 carnival season to determine the five best sambas and marches through popular vote. Citizens were invited to mail letters bearing their selections to the offices of Rádio Guanabara in Rio de Janeiro, over three weeks in March. The Order would choose the initial samples of thirty songs in each category, but the public was enabled to vote for the five “best” sambas and marches within those slates; the winning songs, the most popular songs, would be celebrated and broadcast regularly during carnival.¹⁰³

At the same time, the Order was increasingly militating for the payments of royalties to songwriters and composers as part of their mission to professionalize, and impose legal-financial rights and responsibilities on, the general cultural economy of

¹⁰¹ Federal Law 3.857 of 22 December 1960.

¹⁰² *Batucada Fantástica*, Musidisc 777.6068. Perrone (1908-2001), the LP’s arranger and a member of the ensemble, also included other traditional Brazilian rhythms from the northeast but maintained a focus on the rhythms and instruments of Rio’s samba schools. Long employed at Rio’s Rádio Nacional, Perrone was an early innovator on integrating the American-style drum set to Brazilian popular music and participated in the 1939 recording of Ari Barroso’s “Aquarela do Brasil.” His percussion LP may first have come to the attention of members of the Académie Charles Cros when Perrone joined the 3rd Official Caravan of Brazilian Popular Music, which performed across Europe in 1960.

¹⁰³ “Músicas do carnaval de 63 serão escolhidas através do voto popular,” *Jornal do Brasil*, 03 December 1962.

Brazilian music. Given the national attention paid to the samba schools and the rise of consumer recordings on national or multinational record labels featuring the winners of Rio carnival, or even showcasing particular samba schools, the Order helped guarantee that winning samba school composers were paid what they were due. While ensuring the ostensibly just payment of royalties to artists for their creative labor, this only deepened the capitalization of narrowly specialized, professionalizing sectors of the samba schools and risked creating further antipathy amongst the unsalaried ranks of the “folk.” Critics noted as well. Sérgio Cabral wrote furiously of Mangueira’s 1972 carnival presentation—“an awful performance”—but their song “Mangueira, Minha Querida Madrinha” was wildly popular amongst spectators and the record-buying public, leading to an initial payment of some 150,000 *cruzeiros* to the lyricist. “How is it possible that a samba school composer can make so much money: almost a thousand times the minimum wage?” he thundered. “This explains all the record and publishing executives hanging around the schools’ headquarters looking to make deals, and also explains the desperation of the many traditional composers of sambas who have been displaced” for not cynically accommodating the whims of public taste.¹⁰⁴

The Order of Musicians, by organizing to defend the rights of Brazilian musicians in a new era, ironically also participated in the creation of sharply capitalist business strategies among some individuals to take advantage of those rights in a period of broader cultural shifts—and their unintended victims who were burned by the process. These included Angenor de Oliveira, better known as Cartola (1908-1980), one of the founders of the Samba School Mangueira in 1928 and a long-time composer whose slower, more melodically complex sambas were increasingly out of favor in the new mass-media

¹⁰⁴ Cabral, *As Escolas de Samba*, 153-4.

production climate of carnival performance; near the end of his life, he restarted his career as a solo artist thanks to the efforts of Marcus Pereira, a publicity specialist who developed the hobby of recording traditional Brazilian music in the early 1970s; Pereira's recording of carnival music from Salvador will be discussed further in chapter 4, although he also compiled LP recordings of several of the principal samba schools in Rio (including Portela, Mangueira, Imperio do Serrano, and Salgueiro). For Cabral, the nail in the coffin of the samba schools' true spontaneous musical authenticity was in 1974, when, for the first time, songwriters from the commercial pop-music world who had crossed over to write for the samba schools won the best song competition. "Up to then, samba schools had been a means of professional ascension for people from within the genuine samba community, but after 1974, the schools were just another pastime for those who compose for mass consumption."¹⁰⁵

Edison Carneiro's concern over the "disfigurations" of the samba schools was, at a certain level, based on his bitter conviction that it all might have turned out differently had the schools been left alone by state and tourism interests, and had the schools themselves taken more initiative to organize in defense of what he saw as their collective interests and traditional integrity. Although nothing in the historical record, published or archival, indicates that he attempted to actively recruit members of samba schools to Communist causes, nonetheless we can cautiously surmise that in his many pleas for the samba schools to be left unregulated to develop on their own, without competitions, he bore the hope that they would ultimately evolve into more engaged proletarian organizations and help transform Brazil politically and socio-economically. That was not

¹⁰⁵ The songwriters, Jair Amorim and Evaldo Gouveia, wrote for Portela. Cabral, *As Escolas de Samba*, 154.

to be, and even at the level of the samba schools' civil association—a critical aspect of their national potential for both invigorating folklore and nurturing democratic values—Rio's schools turned inward. In 1975 one of the main samba school representative groups, the Association of Brazilian Samba Schools (founded 1952), changed its name to the Association of Samba Schools of the City of Rio de Janeiro—a change affirming the fact that, regardless of how many schools were created outside of Rio, the lobbying interests, performance milieus, and social contexts of schools in each carnival location within Brazil's vast federation were too diverse to be contained within one entity.¹⁰⁶ If the samba schools were truly a national phenomenon, their interests and identities would nonetheless develop in patchwork fashion with Rio's schools serving as model and precedent rather than members among equals. They would also be, for critics in both Recife and Salvador, a source of invasive “foreign” culture threatening the vitality of local carnival cultures. And a year before, in 1974, the *enredo* of Mangueira dealt explicitly with themes of national folklore, but while these were cast in regional terms (including the *frevo* of Recife's carnival, and the distinctive lacework of Afro-Bahian women) the song exempted Mangueira itself from inclusion; it was a samba school paying homage to folklore, not defining itself as such.¹⁰⁷

Recife: Katarina Real and the Management of Carnival Folklore

In the northeastern city of Recife, the relation between folklore, carnival, the market, and the supervising state that was established by the 1960s will provide another

¹⁰⁶ This is codified in the *Estatutos Sociais e Regimento Interno, Associação das Escolas de Samba da Cidade de Rio de Janeiro* (Rio de Janeiro: 1989), title 1, chapter 1, article 2, letter b: The goals of the organization are to “Coordinate the interests of the samba schools and their members, before the people and the public authorities, and to represent those interests, as long as these do not transcend the borders of the city of Rio de Janeiro.”

¹⁰⁷ Jajá, Preto Rico & Manuel, “Mangueira em Tempo de Folclore,” 1974.

national contrast with the way carnival in Salvador was coalescing at the time. In Recife, the state both regulated and sponsored carnival, hoping to protect its folkloric culture from the distortions of the market and, at the same time, to use it as a tourist attraction—goals that led to hegemonic interests in maintaining carnival as a stable, orderly, and traditional festival. As in Rio de Janeiro, many folklorists and city officials preferred to think of carnival culture as both authentic and spontaneous when it came from the lower classes, who, by definition, should not be seen as profiting from it. This involved careful denials of reality in each city, since the financial demands to participate competitively in carnival were growing beyond the capacity of governments to underwrite them, leading to both informal arrangements for grassroots fundraising in Rio, and increasing tension in Recife where the centralized carnival authorities (ultimately commanded by tourism interests) cultivated relationships of dependence. And in Recife the values of folklore were embraced as a unique dimension of local identity, distinguishing Recife's carnival from that of Rio, Salvador, or anywhere else. Underlying the interpenetration of carnival and folklore was a strong central authority that cultivated and patrolled it—not exclusively the state, since leaders of business and industry also joined the officials and tourism boosters in organizing commissions that determined (discursively and through funding decisions) the contours of carnival expression. The shared goal was an ordered, peaceful carnival that amplified local pride and celebrated local traditions, so Recife's versions of Rio's samba schools would prove controversial to festival observers.

It was an unprecedented event in Brazil's folklore movement when Katarina Real took office as general secretary of Pernambuco's state folklore commission on 22 August 1967 (Brazil's Folklore Day), for two reasons. First, while she was not the first woman to

hold state office in the CNFL, she was the first non-Brazilian. Katherine Royal (a name rendered in Portuguese as Katarina Real) spent part of her childhood in Brazil, because her father was a high-ranking naval advisor to Rio's Brazilian Naval War College; later, she returned as a graduate student, researching for a thesis at the University of North Carolina on urban Brazilian carnival for a degree (1960) in anthropology.¹⁰⁸ And unlike the typical ceremonies of assuming office in the folklore movement, formally attended by a few men in suits, she ensured that along with Almeida and a few local politicians several "other masters" were present with her—"representatives of the folk of Recife, directors of some of the wonderful carnival clubs... they are my professors in racial harmony and social peace, in happiness and festivity, in beauty and color, through their stunning presentations during the seasons of Rey Momo. They are my guides into the wisdom of the Brazilian people, for whom poverty never means a lack of dignity."¹⁰⁹

Real had spent time in Brazil as a child, and later—perhaps after completing her thesis in 1960—she prepared lectures on "musical folkways of Brazil" and "Candomblé rituals of Bahia" as well as "interpretive dance" performances based on northeastern carnival traditions for American audiences (see figure 2). Renato Almeida's endorsement of her is at first mystifying: she was a foreigner whose interest in Recife's culture centered on carnival, hardly his preferred subject matter. His decision had everything to do with the uninspiring performance of the folklore sub-commission in Pernambuco—a state famous for its folkloric diversity and vitality, from ceramics and sculpture to

¹⁰⁸ Katherine Royal Cate, "The Brazilian Urban 'Carnival': A Discussion of its Origins, Nature, and Ethnological Significance." Masters thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1960.

¹⁰⁹ Discurso de Posse de Catarina Real Cate como Secretário-Geral da Comissão Pernambucana de Folclore, 22 agosto 1967. Ibccc/Cnfl/DD. 551 – 20/XI/67 (CNFCP DA: 1967\Documentos 541-551).

folguedos—which had galled Almeida for years. There had been a string of absent or ineffective general-secretaries of the commission from its inception.

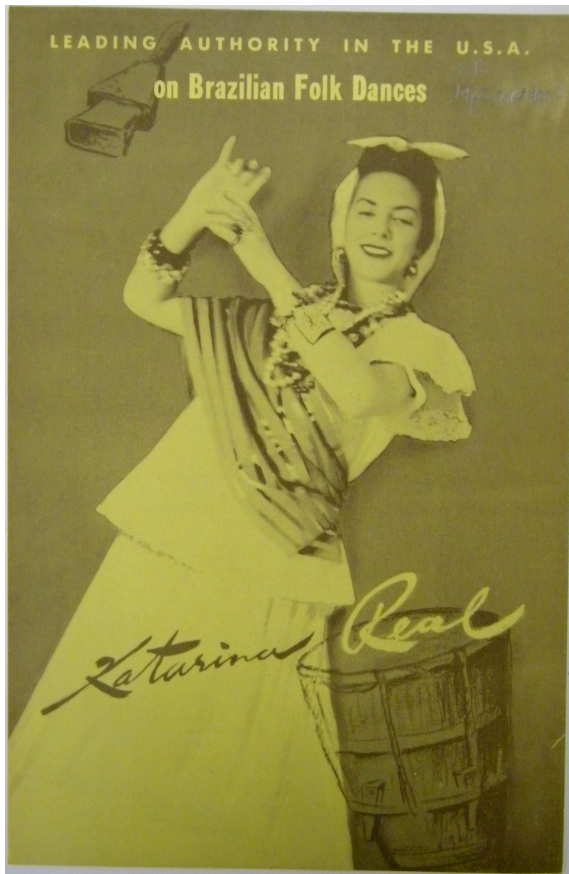


Figure 2: Katarina Real, undated promotional flyer. Source: Fundação Joaquim Nabuco, Recife.

Almeida first met Real when she attended the third national folklore congress in Salvador, in 1957,¹¹⁰ but it was the recommendation of Gilberto Freyre who encouraged him to consider Real's candidacy later. She had met Freyre in late 1960 or early 1961, when, she recalled, she was considering following up her graduate thesis with a closer examination of the carnival of Salvador, Bahia. Welcoming her to his office with informality and warm joviality—"he insisted I simply call him Gilberto!"—Freyre appears to have convinced her within the span of one meeting to change her site to

¹¹⁰ Katarina Real, *O Folclore no Carnaval do Recife*, 2^{nda} Edição (Recife: Fundação Joaquim Nabuco, 1990), xxvii. She had just recently been proposed as a member of the Paraná state folklore sub-commission by another member, the American consul in that state, George Columan.

Recife, where she could count on not only his full assistance but that of the social science institute where he worked (and had helped found).¹¹¹ As her exotic notoriety as a foreign but Portuguese-speaking researcher grew in the city, so did her support network: the Culture Department at city hall loaned her a chauffeured jeep.¹¹² But she also proved her administrative capacities before ascending to the state commission leadership by serving on Recife's Carnival Organizing Commission from 1965-1967, at the mayor's invitation (she had been observing their meetings since 1961). Meanwhile, she was carefully keeping notes in an index card file of the city's carnival culture for her first book, *Folklore in the Carnival of Recife*, published in 1967.¹¹³ That year, while sitting on the Carnival Organizing Commission and leading the state folklore sub-commission, she was named an Honorary Citizen of Recife.

For Almeida, Real's personal eagerness and her positive reception in the city were clear advantages for the secretary-general position.¹¹⁴ He would have known of the national reputation of Recife's carnival as a showcase for vibrant regional folklore.¹¹⁵ This carnival's fame grew alongside that of Rio's through the 1950s, constructed in the country's mass media as not a competitor but a complement to the booming "national" symbol of carnival in Rio de Janeiro. Its distinctions did not challenge the primacy of Rio's carnival but verified the essential truth of its values—racial integration, equality,

¹¹¹ The Joaquim Nabuco Institute of Social Research, later named the Joaquim Nabuco Foundation. Real, *O Folclore no Carnaval do Recife*, xxiv.

¹¹² Real, *O Folclore no Carnaval do Recife*, xxv.

¹¹³ Real, *O Folclore no Carnaval do Recife*, xxvi.

¹¹⁴ Kubrusly alleges that Real had been performing most of the folklore commission's leadership functions since 1965. Clarisse Quintanilha Kubrusly, "A Experiência Etnográfica de Katarina Real (1927-2006): Colecionando Maracatus em Recife," Masters thesis, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (2007), 45.

¹¹⁵ "Carnaval do Recife: Material imenso e rico para os estudos de nosso folclore," *A Gazeta*, 29 April 1958; "Carnaval do Recife é um conservatório de folclore," *Jornal do Commercio* (9 April 1967). The phrase "conservatory" referring to tradition in Recife's carnival was first used by Roger Bastide in *Imagens do Nordeste Místico em Branco e Preto* (Rio de Janeiro: Empresa Gráfica O Cruzeiro, 1945).

spontaneity, authenticity, happiness—by revealing how the same irrepressibly “Brazilian” values were manifest elsewhere,¹¹⁶ in an environmental and sub-cultural milieu distant from the nation’s industrializing southeast (a region long constructed discursively as a nostalgic repository of Brazil’s colonial-era traditions and socioeconomic relations).¹¹⁷ In a 1960 Rio newspaper, Carneiro had published a review of Recife’s 1958 carnival, emphasizing its diversity and the pleasant inadequacy of organizational structures to fully contain its popular energy: “The carnival of Recife may not be ‘the greatest in the world’ (as local proponents declare), but it is certainly the most spontaneous and most comprehensive of all of them.”¹¹⁸

Almeida perceived how Real’s interest in carnival could serve as a bridge to a study emphasizing folklore, filling a void for a state commission that was long undistinguished, and showcasing the relevance of the CDFB at a moment when its federal budget was worryingly vulnerable. At the same time, Recife’s carnival, unlike that of Rio (and that of Salvador, especially in the 1960s) functioned as a showcase of not just the city’s cultural traditions but an extraordinary range of *folgedos* from the rural environs—many of them maintained by immigrant communities.¹¹⁹ Given this context it is not surprising that, according to Real, she had intended to make the basis of the book’s title *The Carnival Clubs of Recife*, a narrowing of focus from her earlier thesis on Brazil’s

¹¹⁶ “Rio e Recife: Últimos redutos do carnaval,” *Revista Visão* (São Paulo), 01 March 1957.

¹¹⁷ Durval Muniz de Albuquerque Júnior, “Weaving Tradition: The Invention of the Brazilian Northeast,” *Latin American Perspectives* 31(2) 2004, 42-61.

¹¹⁸ “O carnaval de Recife,” *Jornal do Commercio*, 28 February 1960.

¹¹⁹ Almeida had studied one aspect of traditional culture from Pernambuco that was becoming a staple of Recife’s carnival, the *caboclinhos*. Almeida, “Caboclinhos de Pernambuco,” in Almeida, *Tablado Folclórico* (São Paulo: Ricordi Brasileira, 1961).

urban carnivals, while Almeida personally insisted (and it was he who was overseeing the book's publication through the CDFB) that the title include the word "folklore."¹²⁰

The Economics of Managing Recife's Mid-Century Carnival

Beyond her research, Real's administrative positions put her in the crosshairs of numerous solicitous publics as she contended with how carnival in Recife was organized and underwritten. The official carnival—involving parades of licensed groups through the Plaza of the Pernambuco Daily News in the old city center—was almost completely sponsored with public funds. In contrast with Rio, where the competition-fueled drive for financial support among the principal samba schools was leading to increasingly entrepreneurial attitudes (charging admission at year-round rehearsals and parties, or allowing tourists to parade with them for fees) but, more fundamentally if not explicitly, dubious patronage relationships with the local dons of Brazil's clandestine gambling community,¹²¹ many of the most famous and "traditional" carnival groups in Recife had long looked to representatives of the city or state for financial assistance. In the face of the actual or perceived insufficiency of official subsidies—used to pay for costumes and other materials, independent musicians, transportation, and even the construction of headquarters—groups who could leverage their popularity increasingly resorted to threats to not participate in carnival at all. This included perhaps the most prestigious carnival club in the city, Vassourinhas, founded in 1889, who took defiant public stands demanding municipal and state support in 1964 and 1965;¹²² their financial problems

¹²⁰ Maria Clara da Silva, "Katherine Royal Cate (1927-2006) e os Maracatus do Recife," Masters thesis, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (2007), 43 n. 66.

¹²¹ These gambling moguls, often involved in a range of illicit activities, protected themselves and their empires by marshalling the votes of "their" samba schools to ensure that politicians looked the other way. Queiroz, "Escolas de samba do Rio de Janeiro ou a domesticação da massa urbana," 901-904.

¹²² Katarina Real Archive, KRJp6 docs 510, 518 (FJN, KRJp6doc.501/600).

persisted through the decade and threatened to overshadow their 80th anniversary, leading to more state contributions.¹²³ Thus while carnival culture was still understood in the mainstream consensus as flowing forth naturally from the popular classes (as in Rio), here the state was seen as not merely permitting and giving order and legitimacy to the festival but actively sponsoring its content each year. Recife's newspapers archly contrasted the "happy, unadulterated carnival spirit of the people" with the petty "indifference" of city hall for making sure that carnival's cultural production "lived up to past grandness."¹²⁴ They also cited public disenchantment with how the lack of official funds impacted carnival's "brilliance."¹²⁵ Investment from local business in the city's staging of carnival was regularly incited, but rarely met the hopes of governments; still, direct investment in carnival associations was discouraged structurally through what Real called "one of the noteworthy characteristics of Recife carnival... the total absence of commercial (and political) propaganda." But she went on to acknowledge that this rule made businesses reluctant to invest in carnival.¹²⁶

The intimate relationship between carnival's vitality and official support was consolidated before Real's time, in the 1930s, when various interventionist strategies circulated among the authorities who created the Pernambucan Carnival Federation in 1935.¹²⁷ Concerns with maintaining carnival free of class and race conflict joined the

¹²³ "Vassourinhas completa 80 anos, porem ainda não sabe se desfilará êste ano," *Diário de Pernambuco*, 05 January 1969.

¹²⁴ "Falta de Incentivo Oficial Desanima os Festejos de Rua," *Diário de Pernambuco*, 8 February 1959.

¹²⁵ "Músicas cariocas abafaram no carnaval Pernambucano," *Diário da Noite*, 8 February 1967.

¹²⁶ Real, *O Folclore no Carnaval do Recife*, 250.

¹²⁷ "In an era in which the state is preoccupied with defending culture while a systemic crisis shakes society, the Federation arises as a formidable ally in the combat of the government's enemies... According to its statutes, the Federation would procure harmony among carnival clubs; financially assist those who participate in carnival; give awards to the clubs who present with the greatest dignity, luxuriously exalting the fatherland and national figures; contribute to tourism; [and] mold carnival in values of historical traditionalism and education, leading the people to value their customs." Mário Ribeiro dos Santos,

impulse to consolidate carnival's organization along lines inspired from period nationalistic / populist developments in Rio. But there was a distinct focus on the specific sorts of carnival culture that made Recife unique in Brazil's cultural panorama—especially the *frevo*,¹²⁸ the *caboclinhos*,¹²⁹ and the *maracatu*.¹³⁰ It was the perceived national ethnic completeness of these manifestations—with traditional African, European, and Indian elements—that set Recife apart from Rio's samba schools, and their accompanying polar dimensions of black / white relations.¹³¹

Many locals also thought Recife's carnival had a claim over Rio's in terms of the traditional continuity of its character, with most of its forms dating back at least to the nineteenth century, unlike the relatively recent samba schools; and its open, participatory nature, where people followed the clubs along in the streets to dance or revel, not merely watching and applauding. The idea of Recife's carnival being both essentially equitable, and at risk of change through modernity and assertions of class—later echoed by Real—was articulated as early as 1943, when Pernambucan writer Mário Sette (1886-1950)

Trombones, Tambores, Qepiques e Ganzás: A Festa das Agremiações Carnavalescas nas Ruas do Recife, 1930-1945 (Recife: SESC, 2010), 194-8.

¹²⁸ A music style drawing from such diverse influences as military marches and Afro-Brazilian *capoeira*, with a repertoire of traditional dance but also encouraging free physical expression. Ruy Duarte, *História Social do Frevo* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Leitura, 1968); Mário Souto Maior and Leonardo Dantas Silva (eds.), *Antologia do Carnaval do Recife* (Recife: Fundação Joaquim Nabuco, 1991); Valdemar de Oliveira, *Frevo, Capoeira e "Passo"* (Recife: Companhia Editora de Pernambuco, 1985).

¹²⁹ Typically indigenous or mixed-race indigenous groups representing, through music, dance, and costume, the native Tupi-Guarani peoples of Brazil. Real, *O Folclore no Carnaval do Recife*, 83-99.

¹³⁰ A procession presenting ludic dimensions of sacred Afro-Brazilian spirituality, similar to the Bahian *afoxé*, likely also related to the colonial practice of electing a "Kongo king" among black brotherhoods who would parade with his court on festival days. The literature on *maracatu* is vast. Representative works include Pereira da Costa, "Folk-Lore Pernambucano: Maracatu," *Antologia do Carnaval do Recife*, ed. Mário Souto Maior and Leonardo Dantas Silva (Recife: FJN / Massangana, 1991), 351-3; Yoshihiro Arai, "O Carnaval do Recife e a Formação do Folclore Negro no Brasil," *Senri Ethnological Reports* #1 (1994), 115-138; Ivaldo Marciano de França Lima and Isabel Cristina Martins Guillen, *Cultura Afro-Descendente no Recife: Maracatus, valentes, e catimbós* (Recife: Bagaço, 2007); Jerry D. Metz, "Cultural Geographies of Afro-Brazilian Symbolic Practice: Tradition and Change in *Maracatu de Nação* (Recife, Pernambuco, Brazil)," *Latin American Music Review* 29:1, Spring/Summer 2008, 64-95.

¹³¹ "Rio e Recife: Últimos Redutos do Carnaval," Paulo Vianna, "Carnaval de Pernambuco" (1974), in Maior and Silva, *Antologia do Carnaval do Recife*.

described the *frevo* but also generally “our dance and music” at carnival as “democracy in action, with no need for propaganda or political marches. All are welcome: old, young. The serious, the exuberant. White, brown, black skin. A confusion of classes, ages, social positions, sexes, ideas, even of politics.” But, he warned, the space of this organic expression of innate Brazilian democracy—the street—was increasingly being taken up by parades of private vehicles belonging to the city’s elite.¹³² The same sentiments of Recife’s carnival as “the most democratic popular festival” in Brazil, but one in need of official intervention to protect against deterioration, was echoed nearly twenty years later in an opinion piece entitled, emphatically, “The Government Should Help Carnival.”¹³³

But what is clear from the most detailed articulation of carnival in the early period, the 1938 *Yearbook of Pernambucan Carnival*, is that private capital played a substantially greater cooperative role with government at that time than in Real’s era of the 1960s. Private enterprise (both large, such as Pernambuco Tramways and Great Western Railways, and smaller local businesses) and state regulation were integrated in the creation of themed competitions, based on costume ideas supplied by particular stores—such that in 1938, for example, five different categories of local culture groups could compete against each other for awards in the “Paulista General Store Competition,” for which groups had to be not only officially registered with the Federation but costumed with materials from the Paulista chain, verifiable by the presentation of receipts from the store upon judging. There were specific suggestions for costumes based on historical patriotic themes or strategically important agricultural products, such as the tomato, pineapple, coconut, or sugarcane—elaborated in color drawings with shopping

¹³² Mario Sette, “Carnaval do meu tempo,” *Revista do Instituto Arqueológico Histórico e Geográfico Pernambucano*, vol. 38, 1943, 265-273.

¹³³ “O governo deve ajudar o carnaval,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, 4 March 1962.

suggestions. A carnival group “displaying commercial propaganda from firms other than those commanding the competition” would be disqualified by the judging committee, which contained representation from city hall, commerce, and the Federation (itself composed of members of the city’s elite merchants and industrialists).¹³⁴

The Federation was the administrative body charged with both arranging competitions and providing subsidies to all carnival entities—according to often obscure procedures, but generally based on how well each group had ranked in the previous year’s competition of “types” of group. That is, how well a group was evaluated by judges one year would determine the level of subsidy it received the next year. Thirty years after the Federation’s inception, Real, working in an enhanced framework of classification and sponsorship in the mid-1960s, spelled out how this hierarchical scheme still existed in its application to *troças* (a variant of *frevo* clubs).

The Federation divides *troças* into three categories or levels: first, second, and third. A group that appears shoddy [*sai ruim*] year after year will go down in category; a group that looks fine [*vem bonito*] each year can rise to a new higher level. Recently, the Federation established a special category of “extra first” for the most luxurious groups. Naturally, all these rankings determine the amount of financial subsidy awarded—which will not come near to covering all the expenses of a group, but constitutes an important incentive for each *troça* to get better [*vir melhor*] in order to rise in class.¹³⁵

Notable here is the discourse of a fixed type of *folgado* which individual groups must strive to meet, to the satisfaction of “experts” outside the tradition, through the application of not just its cultural but also its financial resources. Official rhetoric at the time was careful to distinguish *prêmios* (awards and prizes, typically trophies) from *subvenções* (subsidies), although the nature and stature of each depended squarely on judges’ rankings. For culture producers, there was thus an obvious motive for crafting

¹³⁴ *Anuário do Carnaval de Pernambuco*, 1938. No publication information.

¹³⁵ Real, *O Folclore no Carnaval do Recife*, 26-8.

performances according to the perceived standards of the judging commission, who, as in Rio, tended not to be drawn from the social milieu of the groups themselves; the 1938 *Yearbook* noted the specification in Article 3 of the Federation's statutes that awards would go to clubs with the "most dignified presentations."

From roughly the late 1930s to the early 1960s, carnival clubs also supplemented their finances with informal public fundraising through the so-called *livro de ouro* ("golden book") system in which communities were asked by neighborhood groups to pledge monetary donations, written in the groups' books.¹³⁶ By contrast, prominent, wealthy individuals in the city were given small envelopes with formally-worded appeals for contributions; unsurprisingly, Real's personal archives contain a large number of them.¹³⁷ These customs would gradually disappear as economic crises cycled through mid-century Recife, and other social changes—particularly increased mobility, changing prices and availability of urban real estate, and the growth of enclosed sky-rise apartment buildings—affected traditional senses of communally shared tradition. The overall effect was a deepening dependence on the government to underwrite carnival's cultural production, regardless of the demure implication that all participants understood that official subsidies were merely an "incentive" to receive better scores.

¹³⁶ The *livro de ouro* is also mentioned by Jório and Araújo in their 1969 study of Rio's samba schools, although they state it was "not a good source of revenue because contributions are very small in relation to expenses" (*Escolas de Samba em Desfile*, 300).

¹³⁷ The groups, who tended to be poor and poorly educated, received assistance even in the production of these envelopes; for example, the message from Maracatu Leão da Serra was written in an elevated form of language likely beyond the capacities of any of its members: "Illustrious Sir, Being that this carnival organization is committed to public presentations during the consecrated days of the Rei Momo, and that its participation has been rendered impossible due the precarious state of its finances, we come with the utmost respect, in the form of this intermediary, to ask for your consideration in dignifying us with a helpful collaboration, which would help ensure the greater brilliance of Pernambucan carnival. Certain that we will receive your highest attention, we sincerely thank you for your valuable assistance and desire that this carnival brings you happiness. Regards, the Directors." Katarina Real Miscelanea: KRMp1 cap5 doc9 (FJN, KR KRMp1cap1/11).

The Officialization of Recife's Carnival

By the late 1950s, there were growing concerns over how class distinction was asserting itself in Recife's forms of revelry, with the street carnival losing luster by the year to elite auto parades while private clubs competed amongst themselves to present the most luxurious parties for wealthy members. In response, city hall was prepared to intervene with a dramatic "officialization" of the "traditional popular event," in the form of one million *cruzeiros* to pay for not only lighting and decoration but the "stimulation and permanence" of the "most traditional carnival clubs."¹³⁸ This relates to a decree from Recife's Department of Documentation and Culture, *Decreto* #1351, of January 1956. That document established the city's responsibility to "directly promote and sponsor carnival festivities within folkloric patterns, preserving above all the *frevo* clubs, the *maracatus* in their primitive form, and the *caboclinhos*." It also outlined proportions for expenditure of public funds (60% for carnival clubs, 40% for decoration), and created the Carnival Commission itself. The "officialization" of carnival is clear from the composition and mandate of the Commission, a group Real would join informally in 1961 and formally in 1965.¹³⁹

The document is signed, not by the head of this department, but by the director of the state tourism department. If 1 million *cruzeiros* was the initial investment, by 1963 the amount distributed by city hall through the Commission reached 8 million

¹³⁸ "O carnaval de rua é retrato vivo das tradições populares do Recife," newspaper clipping without citation data but with Katarina Real's handwritten "1957" by the title. Katarina Real Archive, KRJp1 doc 41 (FJN, KRJp6doc. 1/100).

¹³⁹ "The Commission will be presided over by the Director of the Department of Documentation and Culture, and composed of three aldermen indicated by the Municipal Congress, a representative of the Carnival Federation, a representative of the Association of Carnival Journalists, and two members chosen by the Mayor of Recife. It falls to this body to judge the carnival competitions and opine regarding ornamentation, illumination, advertising, and the animation of the people, as well as regarding the distribution of funds for carnival." "Departamento de Documentação e Cultura: Decreto n. 1351, de 23 de janeiro de 1956," articles 1, 4. Katarina Real Archive, KR Pip4 doc 35 (FJN, KRPIp4doc.34/52).

cruzeiros,¹⁴⁰ and in 1965, the sum grew to 25 million *cruzeiros*.¹⁴¹ Currency inflation certainly explains some of this growth, as the inflation rate had mushroomed from the mid-30s in 1963 to over 100% in March 1964.¹⁴² But the commitment of the state to supporting public carnival culture in Recife remained clear, even if inadequate to rising demand; in 1963, 65 licensed clubs participated, down from over 100 the year before.¹⁴³ And there was a crisis in 1965, as a majority of the licensed clubs united before city leaders to express their inability to participate in carnival due to financial problems. This was likely a genuine expression of broad hardship in times of runaway inflation, but also a calculated threat to officials to provide more money, or else.¹⁴⁴ The event went on to proceed with some groups' absences that year, but a crisis mode in carnival—something only alluded to in earlier eras, crafted with implicit appeals to tradition and nostalgia—was becoming annual fiscal reality.

By the mid-1960s, business was essentially gone as a formal base of support of street carnival, replaced by the Carnival Organizing Commission, who oversaw the planning, infrastructure, funding, and advertising of the event. Clubs affiliated with the Federation (since 1956, more narrowly devoted to representation and regulation of the *folgedos* in the official parade) would have to present a detailed budget of expenses for their participation to the Commission for prior review; approved funds came from the state and city but were ultimately dispensed by the Pernambuco Tourism Department.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁰ “Carnaval. Oito milhões: Para carnaval em Recife,” *A Noite*, 18 January 1963.

¹⁴¹ “Foi aprovada ontem a distribuição da verba para o carnaval de 65,” *Jornal do Commercio*, 27 January 1965. Katarina Real Archive, KRJp5 doc 478 (FJN, KRJp6doc.401/500).

¹⁴² Skidmore, *Brazil: Five Centuries of Change*, 152-162.

¹⁴³ “65 agremiações desfilarão pelas ruas desta capital,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, 04 February 1963. Katarina Real Archive, KRJp3 doc 281 (FJN, KRJp3doc.201/300).

¹⁴⁴ “Clubes não desfilarão no carnaval,” *Jornal do Commercio* (Recife), 05 February 1965. Katarina Real Archive, KRJp5 doc 434 (FJN, KRJp5doc.401/500).

¹⁴⁵ “Faltam 40 dias para os 4 de Carnaval,” *Jornal do Commercio* (Recife), 18 January 1968.

This approach, with its burdensome (and imperfect) accountability measures, was contemplated as a remedy not only for the lack of business and community contributions but the commensurate growing practice of “godfatherhood,” in which a local politician would “adopt” a carnival group, providing informal gifts of cash and prestige with the expectation to harvest the group’s votes at election time.¹⁴⁶ This “malefic interference of politicians” allegedly led to the corruption of groups’ directors, who enriched themselves at the cost of the *folgado* while entrenching its dependence on the government.¹⁴⁷ Starting in 1961 the Carnival Commission also held its own carnival parties in conjunction with elite private clubs, such as the city’s Municipal Dance at the International Club, to raise funds to be allocated to the street carnival.¹⁴⁸

But the government struggled to raise sufficient funds. By the early 1970s, the state was reaching out to businesses to incite private enterprise to “restore” carnival.¹⁴⁹ But several generations of culture producers had adapted to the strategy of relying on the public funding available through affiliating with the Federation and accepting its terms. The situation was attracting criticism for being corrupted by political interests, something

¹⁴⁶ Newspaper clipping entitled “Verbas para o Carnaval é assunto muito difícil,” unsourced and undated, although Real wrote in the margins “Carnival ’66.” Katarina Real Archive, KRJp7 doc 619 (FJN, KRJp6doc.601/700).

¹⁴⁷ “Clubes carnavalescos não só devem viver de subvenções,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, 05 January 1969.

¹⁴⁸ Such as the 1963 dance, offered to the public (at four price levels) in populist and celebratory rhetoric: “On your presence and happiness depends the success of the grandest happening of the Carnival of Pernambuco. You are the master [*dono*] of the party! Recife counts on the reveler’s animation to receive famous Artists, Personalities, Intellectuals, and Reporters, invited from across Brazil” (Advertisement, *Jornal do Commercio* [Recife], 10 February 1963). The first municipal event, and its relations with both tourism and private sponsors such as Coca Cola, is described in “Carnaval festa do povo: Baile municipal, a grande overture do carnaval de 61,” *Correio do Povo*, 10 February 1961. Katarina Real Archive, KRJp2 doc 127 (FJN, KRJp6doc.101/200). The 1964 municipal dance gathered a profit of 700,000 *cruzeiros*, and was deemed a great success (“Baile municipal deu lucro,” *Diário de Pernambuco* 05 February 1964), but that figure should be compared to 25 million *cruzeiros*, the total amount spent by the government in 1965.

¹⁴⁹ The governor, Eraldo Leite, was reaching out to all manner of businesses related to tourism and carnival infrastructure, including transportation, energy, cloth, food and drink, sugar, cigarettes, telecommunications, supermarkets, and hotels. “Governo e empresários restauram o carnaval,” *Jornal do Commercio* (Recife), 17 January 1974.

it had been intended to circumvent—as in a 1969 op-ed piece in Pernambuco’s major daily paper called “Carnival Clubs Should not Survive on Subsidies Alone,” denouncing both the “paternalism” of the Carnival Organizing Commission (which was composed in large part of politicians), and the complacency and dependence of the groups themselves: “For the clubs to make their participation conditional on government money is a vice encouraged by politicians who benefit at the ballot box. To help is one thing, but to make the clubs depend exclusively on the government is another, and this error has contributed to the sad fact that the carnival groups do not organize themselves to survive independently.”¹⁵⁰ This was the inevitable product of an actively centralized carnival, ordered by governing bodies of authorities who not only defined the essential nature of the categories of folkloric expression (with the power to judge and reward their traditional “authenticity”), but also provided the financial sponsorship for their participation in the festival each year. The problems proved resilient. Ten years later, in 1979, Pernambucan journalist, historian and activist Leonardo Dantas Silva declared in a furious essay that the combined actions of the city’s tourism and urbanization departments were regulating and formalizing the last vestiges of spontaneity out of Recife’s carnival. “We don’t need them to organize our carnival,” he boomed, quoting Pernambucan composer Capiba to the effect that the city’s official judging platform represented the symbolic “Bastille of Recife’s carnival,” which must be overthrown to restore liberty to the festival. He noted glumly that at least the carnival of nearby Olinda still offered the traditional unstructured revelry that was dying out in Recife.¹⁵¹

Carnival, from Mass Spontaneity to “Cultural Museum”

¹⁵⁰ “Clubes carnavalescos não só devem viver de subvenções.”

¹⁵¹ “É proibido proibir: Não põe corda no meu bloco!” *Diário de Pernambuco*, 18 February 1979.

As Real ascended to prominence in the dual spheres of folklore and carnival in Recife, the general problem she had to navigate was how to manage and stimulate the city's cultural diversity in a way that maintained its character in the face of mounting financial strictures. She was not vexed by theoretical arguments over the definition of folklore, or whether certain manifestations were or were not folklore per sé, such as those that preoccupied Almeida and Carneiro. In Recife, unlike Rio, it was taken for granted by mass media and most specialists that folklore and carnival were profoundly related and interdependent for both vitality and continuity. At the same time, Real implicitly agreed with Carneiro, not Almeida, that it was a legitimate and important strategy for seasonal folkloric manifestations to develop social and economic activities year-round.¹⁵² In the particular case of the local variant of *bumba-meu-boi*, the *folgado* hailed by many Brazilian folklorists as the most “national” in scope, she denied the charge that the recent trend of its appearance in Recife's carnival (outside the traditional Christmas season, and now merely competing for trophies) was a distortion of its authenticity. She argued that official carnival gave its performers the opportunity to earn additional support and enthusiasm to sustain the practice at Christmas, and she helped institute a new judging category for it in the carnival of 1965.¹⁵³ Real was also pleased to note that, of the 183 groups in twelve folkloric categories she surveyed over 1961-5, over one hundred and fifty maintained a social life or performance schedule throughout the year: “nearly all do not only parade in carnival but during São João, Christmas, and other occasions.”¹⁵⁴

¹⁵² “Among the noteworthy characteristics of these [carnival] clubs is the fact that the vast majority are permanent year-round social and recreative associations, each having its own headquarters [which] are utilized for rehearsals of the choreography, the orchestra and the songs to be presented in the carnival parades, and for weekly dances and other fundraisers to help with club expenses.” Real, *O Folclore no Carnaval do Recife*, 213.

¹⁵³ Real, *O Folclore no Carnaval do Recife*, 124.

¹⁵⁴ Real, *O Folclore no Carnaval do Recife*, 137.

It seems appropriate to consider Real's broader perceptions of Brazil itself, as she was a foreigner given unique power and responsibilities in Recife during a key era in modern Brazilian history when traditional discourses of identity confronted the new challenge of an authoritarian government justified according to both internal instability and wider international conflicts. References to the recent military coup in April 1964 are generally absent from her professional writing, although she made a point to state that in 1965, when the Secretary of Public Security had banned masks from carnival, she led the effort to get an exception for a unique category of European-derived *folgado* called "Urso [Bear]" that she viewed as endangered, and was successful in ensuring that the men dressing as bears during performance could parade in full costume with mask.¹⁵⁵ In a later book, she referred only to "a certain atmosphere of political tension" pervading the carnival of 1964, "as it did the whole city."¹⁵⁶

While apparently a moderate in some areas—her personal archives of annotated news clippings reveal interest in lower-class housing and education issues, and concern with the excesses of both public violence and police activity during carnival¹⁵⁷—she nonetheless expressed an attitude of wonder towards Brazilian society and culture that may have left her uncritical towards subtly hegemonic power relations in prevailing orthodox discourses of national identity and folklore, as opposed to the "progressive" alternate readings of the oppositional potential of folklore such as the leftist Carneiro had

¹⁵⁵ Real also intervened for permission for masks on behalf of the *bumba-meu-boi* and groups of clowns; the former were granted permission, the latter not. Real, *Folclore no Carnaval do Recife*, 111-117, 130. At the book's conclusion she acknowledged avoiding "political considerations" in the work: "During the period of research Recife experienced great political upheavals that naturally had effects in carnival and the popular clubs. But being that this is a folkloric study, not a socio-political one, I preferred to not address them" (*ibid.*, 142).

¹⁵⁶ Katarina Real, *Eudes: O Rei do Maracatu* (Recife: Fundação Joaquim Nabuco, 2001), 25.

¹⁵⁷ Policing of Recife's carnival seems to have increased by the mid-1960s, a development likely related to the military coup; Carneiro had observed that in 1958, the main parade area was watched over by only a few "desperate and inefficient" soldiers ("O carnaval de Recife").

emphasized. For instance, she maintained a romantic view of Brazil as a racial paradise—perhaps unsurprising, given her relationship as both apprentice and friend to Gilberto Freyre, architect of the concept of racial democracy. Her 1960 masters thesis is notable for attempting to contemplate the unity and diversity of Brazilian carnival, in an era before Roberto da Matta. But she opens with a stark image of race relations as they were expressed in the United States, a recollection of young white children at Easter, including herself, in Virginia throwing rocks at young black children for no apparent reason.¹⁵⁸ She contrasts this with the equality and mutual respect among dark- and light-skinned Brazilians that she witnessed a few years later during carnival. The view of carnival as a privileged moment of the expression of Brazil’s purported racial harmony runs through her later public speeches and her writing: “racial considerations are of little importance in Brazil when discussing carnival.”¹⁵⁹ In 1989, she noted the growing “self-confidence” among black carnival participants and the “pride to be *moreno* or *mulato*, to be Brazilian, in this wonderful country of miscegenation envied by the entire world.”¹⁶⁰ She retained a sense of delight in the presence of Recife’s cultural vitality and diversity, which she contrasted with the drab culture of the United States, “founded by Puritans, where there hardly exist beautiful and harmonious *folgedos* and popular manifestations.”¹⁶¹

As beautiful and harmonious as the city’s carnival culture might be, Real nonetheless championed strong oversight and regulation of its behavior and values through the Carnival Commission. In that sense, whatever her appeal as an intellectual to

¹⁵⁸ “I think [we] were motivated by intense jealousy of the spontaneous gaiety of [our] dark-skinned agemates... their festive merriment, and their ability to derive intense pleasure from anything so simple as rolling Easter eggs.” Real, “The Brazilian Urban ‘Carnival,’” iv-v.

¹⁵⁹ Real, “The Brazilian Urban ‘Carnaval,’” iv-viii; *O Folclore no Carnaval do Recife*, 228.

¹⁶⁰ Real, *O Folclore no Carnaval do Recife*, 202.

¹⁶¹ Real, *O Folclore no Carnaval do Recife*, 116.

Renato Almeida at the somewhat abstract and national level of “folklore,” she was also a compelling champion for the latest generation of local elites concerned with containing and re-orienting the revolutionary threat of lower classes in Recife—a coastal port city dominated by a wealthy sliver of aristocracy but with a substantial underclass; a city that, as “the capital of the northeast,” had also long served as a magnet for rural, poorly educated mixed-race “folk” from the poor, drought-stricken interior. Dos Santos demonstrates how the first administrative organization to oversee carnival grew out of elites’ fear of this sector in the 1930s, and strategized—through the imposition of licensing and shared themes, symbols, vocabularies, and standards—to render down the potentially chaotic energy of mass carnival into manageable civic groups.¹⁶²

The idea of disciplining masses vulnerable to subversive ideas took on a new urgency during the Cold War, and Brazil’s coup of 1964, which occurred as Real was studying local carnival and about to be appointed to the Carnival Commission. Recife and Pernambuco had been experiencing these tensions for some time already, as persistent droughts and socioeconomic exclusion in the interior had led to peasant mobilizations over land redistribution starting in 1954, sixty kilometers from Recife, and expanding in 1959.¹⁶³ They inspired similar uprisings in neighboring states.¹⁶⁴ Pernambuco’s peasant movement was crushed within months of the military coup and the region quickly aligned

¹⁶² “The Carnival Federation would act as a mentoring wing of the government that could reach common people, implanting a nationalistic program in Recife’s street carnival: hoping to transform, as the 1938 *Carnival Yearbook* says, “each carnival association into an educational nucleus; prohibiting any political expression or preoccupation; militating against subversive activities; defending respect of the law and the public authority charged with enforcing it.” Santos, *Trombones, Tambores, Repiques e Ganzás*, 204-5.

¹⁶³ Nancy Scheper-Hughes, *Death Without Weeping: The Violence of Everyday Life in Brazil* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 46-9; Angus Wright and Wendy Wolford, *To Inherit the Earth: The Landless Movement and the Struggle for a New Brazil* (Oakland: Food First Books, 2003), 128-130.

¹⁶⁴ A series of interventions, both Brazilian (SUDENE, the Superintendency of the Development of the Northeast, 1959) and international (the United States and the Alliance for Progress under Kennedy, 1961), attempted to defuse the movement by increasing education and industry across the dry northeast, but they often clashed over authority and strategy. Francisco de Oliveira, *Elegia para uma Re(li)gião: Sudene, Nordeste, Planejamento e Conflito de Classes* (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1977), 104-110.

into the dictatorship's capitalist development goals, a development praised in a 1966 Brazilian English-language magazine: "The northeast is no longer a problem, it's a business."¹⁶⁵ Closer to home for Real was the attack at Recife's airport, Guararapes, on 25 July 1966; radical groups opposed to the dictatorship, anticipating the arrival of President Costa e Silva, left a suitcase bomb that killed two and wounded several others.

It was within this wider historical context of institutions (the Carnival Federation and the CNFL); consensus views and values of Recife's carnival (folkloric, democratic, assimilable according to "type," and vulnerable to capitalist modernity); and social tensions (fear of disorder or violence from below), that Real framed her approach to managing local carnival. A notion of how Real's own sensitivities to not just maintaining but improving tradition in Recife's carnival can be found in a comparison of how Edison Carneiro had perceived that carnival's informality earlier, in 1958. He had chuckled approvingly at the Commission's inability to impose decorum on the public animation.¹⁶⁶ It was true that such "spontaneity" often resulted in clashes, with taunts between groups and disagreements over parade order, and over the judges' conclusions, as in Rio de Janeiro, being resolved in arguments or outright brawls. A 1936 letter written by the then-president of the Federation to the state congress warned, "These carnival associations live in such a state of rivalry that average people are afraid to enter the street... An encounter

¹⁶⁵ "It took the threat of a Castro-style revolution... to change the central government's attitude toward the Northeast from neglect to primary concern." *Northeast Breakthrough: Brazil '66*, December 1965-January 1966. "A special edition of *Direção*, the monthly magazine of Brazilian business management."

¹⁶⁶ "The multitudes invaded the judging area. The Commission intended to structure the parade into circuits; they had assigned different days for the different types of clubs—*maracatus*, *caboclinhos*, *frevos*, *blocos*, *troças*. But the participants, impatient, disregarded the scheme, and arrived at the judging stage out of order, with no clear plans other than to perform. *Frevos* and *maracatus*, who should parade different days, set forth together, or at cross-purposes; samba schools exercised their valiant percussion batteries ceaselessly, every day... Everyone ignored the man with the loudspeaker on the judges' stage, who should have insisted on the official list of appearances, but instead announced whatever group whose banner he happened to see... The carnival of 1958 transpired, one cannot say in the greatest disorganization, but in the plenitude of popular spontaneity." Carneiro, "O carnaval de Recife."

of two of them means blood will spill, and that club is victorious which leaves the greater number of wounded and dead behind.”¹⁶⁷ Real would have none of this confusion or discord, which in her view threatened not only the predictability of the event for locals and tourists, but the integrity of the *folgedos* themselves as expressions of the people’s “cooperative spirit.”¹⁶⁸ She prioritized thorough advance planning and control of carnival, precisely to avoid the absences or delays of groups (or the ad hoc need for police intervention to separate battling clubs) that would be visible to observers and embarrassing to the Commission. Recife’s 1964 experiment with moving official carnival’s longtime staging area from the cramped plaza in historic Santo Antônio that Carneiro had visited to a nearby large avenue with newly built bleachers, complete with public entry fee, was excoriated in the newspapers, and met by some public misgiving, but ardently defended by Real.¹⁶⁹ She argued that the greater physical space of the new area had a salutary effect on the *frevo* clubs, encouraging and allowing “more vibrant costumes, more highly developed choreography... the width of the avenue *forced* the clubs to extend and elaborate their presentations.”¹⁷⁰ According to a published summary of the Commission’s discussion of the new carnival route and the positioning of viewing stages for judges and the Federation, greater public safety and media access (with onstage space for cameras from two different channels) were also considerations.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁷ Quoted in Leonardo Dantas Silva, “Histórias do carnaval do Recife, cap. 30: A Federação Carnavalesca,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, 13 February 1996.

¹⁶⁸ Real, *O Folclore no Carnaval do Recife*, 205-6.

¹⁶⁹ Real, *Eudes: O Rei do Maracatu*, 25-7.

¹⁷⁰ Real, *O Folclore no Carnaval do Recife*, 164-5 (my emphasis).

¹⁷¹ “Palanque será em frente ao prédio do IAPI, decidiu COC,” *Jornal do Commercio* (Recife), 15 January 1965. Katarina Real Archive, KR Jp5 doc 460 (FJN, KRJp5doc.401/500).

There had been other calls for disciplining carnival, with groups' lateness or their protest of rankings being cited as potential causes for declassification.¹⁷² At least as far back as 1963, municipal rules for "public order" during the event included prohibitions on "encounters between carnival groups," along with offensive songs or slogans, the use of bikinis, military garb, or beach clothes, and unlicensed carnival organizations appearing in the official circuit.¹⁷³ But it was the period of Real's tenure, marked by a broader emphasis on cultural tourism in the city¹⁷⁴ and during the heightened security concerns of the mid-late 1960s, that Recife's authorities consolidated and began enforcing the rules for a deeply disciplined carnival—including a Taylorist rationality of the schedule, with precise date and to-the-minute parade times for each licensed group, including mandatory appearances before the judging stage—all with steep penalties for infractions, and all of which structure the event to the present.¹⁷⁵

While Real addressed the Commission's role in the increasingly critical issue of subsidies in her book, she seemed more concerned with emphasizing the need for such external authorities to act as supervisors for the producers of carnival culture. "Since its

¹⁷² "Decisão da comissão julgadora provocou protestos, mas resultado fêz justiça," ---, 1962. Katarina Real Archive, KRJp2 doc 166 (FJN, KRJp2doc.101/200).

¹⁷³ "Medidas de ordem pública que serão adotadas durante os três dias de carnaval," *Jornal do Commercio* (Recife), 24 February 1963. Katarina Real Archive, KRJp3 doc 280 (FJN, KRJp3doc.201/300). Real wrote alongside the rules the word "Good" with double underlines. The fact that such "encounters" were not proscribed along with other factors in the 1956 Decree establishing the Carnival Commission suggests that clashes among popular groups were growing more numerous as a symptom of carnival's newly vigorous, pervasive centralization, including the relation between funding and competitive rankings, in the 1960s.

¹⁷⁴ Along with Christmas and São João (in June), carnival was a principal focus for tourist investment by Recife's city hall in the 1960s. In 1962, part of their efforts included arranging for "famous people" to come watch and appear at the carnival, such as football star Pelé and writer / musician Vinícius de Moraes. "Carnaval como deve ser," *Visão*, 23 February 1962. Katarina Real Archive, KRJp2 doc 174 (FJN, KRJp2doc.101/200).

¹⁷⁵ In the early 1960s, prominent groups such as the *frevo* club Vassourinhas could determine when they chose to parade before the judges, although that often led to confusion. Generally, groups' protests of rankings and performance delays (of even up to a full day!) were punished by public shaming in the newspapers, a largely ineffective gesture given the low levels of literacy and news readership among most of Recife's *folgeudos*. A few years later, threats of declassification and loss of future subsidies (from one to three years) seemed to be having an effect of making carnival run mostly harmoniously and on time.

founding in the 1930s, the Carnival Federation has served as arbiter in settling disputes among rival clubs and in maintaining peace and harmony among all the clubs in difficult times. It has also served as a bulwark against crass commercialization.”¹⁷⁶ The Federation assisted clubs in their negotiations with the musicians’ union (a sore point for Real, which I will address shortly), but as an agent of the state it also helped the clubs attain legal status through coordinating licensing with municipal police. More fundamentally, the Federation itself had a policing function with respect to carnival’s folkloric manifestations, suggesting the fine line that had to be maintained between fostering inter-group competition within categories of groups and encouraging a patriotic solidarity among the “folk” that was directed towards collectively celebrating local tradition according to hegemonic parameters of not only carnival but folkloric practice itself. As Real wrote in 1989 for her book’s second edition:

In its efforts to maintain the thrilling heraldic quality of Recife’s carnival, the Federation has represented a kind of “cultural museum” wherein traditions of bygone days could find a home and a means of survival as vibrant folkloric groups under the protection of the carnival... With respect to the parades and awards, it has always been the Federation that determines the essential models and characteristics for the classification of each type of carnival manifestation—that is, the precise composition and nature of expression of each species of *folgado*. Without this orientation, it would be possible to imagine a hodgepodge of disparate folkloric elements in the street carnival, a jumble of groups of no definable structure or continuity in the parades.¹⁷⁷

This sort of fine-toothed “orientation” dug deep, affecting details such as the specific types and number of brass or percussion instruments that would be permitted in

¹⁷⁶ Real, *O Folclore no Carnaval do Recife*, 263.

¹⁷⁷ Real, *O Folclore no Carnaval do Recife*, 204, 263. She suggested that there had been a trend to replace the elite outsiders controlling the Federation (the so-called *cartolas*, or “top hats”) with club leaders, making the Federation more representative. This was echoed by Mário Ribeiro dos Santos, who oversees the current incarnation of the Carnival Federation at Recife’s Casa do Carnaval. Whether that has resulted in notable change in expression of the folkloric carnival groups, given the increasingly complex nature of judging, the mediating presence of the tourism industries that demand reliability, and the historical importance of reference texts such as Real’s to the carnival groups themselves, is open to question.

“authentic,” city-endorsed *frevo* or *maracatu*. At the same time as the Federation closely monitored its member groups’ carnival activities, it also explored Recife’s metropolitan region for new groups to recruit for licensing to appear in the official parade, expanding the judging competitions to include more “types” of *folguedos*.¹⁷⁸ And unlike in Rio, it could offer the advantage of state subsidies as an incentive (as well as the soft power to lobby in the Federation’s voting deliberations with respect to carnival performance schedules, and other issues of interest to the groups). Schedules for official carnival were published in the newspapers, drawing attention to *folguedos* affiliated with the Federation, and as the touristic marketing of carnival expanded it was the licensed groups that would receive the most publicity in both mass media and tourism literature.¹⁷⁹

Real’s own field research over 1961-5 (with annotations continuing into 1968) was the basis for an unprecedented effort of both central cataloguing and outreach. Relying on interviews with group leaders as well as what she termed “participant observation” both in and outside of carnival, she methodically compiled both objective data and impressionistic observations on over 180 individual folkloric groups around the metropolitan region, including whether they were affiliated with the Federation, and if so, when that relationship began.¹⁸⁰ But notably her book did not attempt to consolidate and

¹⁷⁸ For instance, in 1968, *palhaços* (clowns) received their own judging category by the Commission; in her earlier field work, Real had placed the clowns in a catch-all category of *diversos* (“diverse”) since they did not yet occupy an official slot as a recognized genre among other folkloric carnival manifestations. “Turismo: I concurso de Palhaços, promovido pelos Diários Associados, conta já, com 30 palhaços inscritos,” KR Jp8 doc 764 (FJN, KRJp8doc.701/800).

¹⁷⁹ Typical coverage of carnival referred only to licensed groups, ignoring the existence of unaffiliated organizations outright—e.g., “126 agremiações carnavalescos vão desfilar pelas ruas de Recife” (*Diário de Pernambuco*, 12 February 1961).

¹⁸⁰ Her research, in the form of index cards with both typewritten and handwritten text, and often-appended notes, is housed at the Katarina Real Archive under Intellectual Production at the Joaquin Nabuco Foundation (KRPIp1doc.1). She prepared a standardized format for each entry, with typed parameters including club name; category of *folguedo*; foundation date; headquarters address; name, profession, and address of director; number of members and of carnival participants; years of carnival participation and awards; whether the club was affiliated with or had started its own primary school; and other activities. She

communicate the full scope of the area's cultural diversity, instead emphasizing only those segments of folkloric carnival associations officially affiliated with the Federation; in many cases, she actually initiated her research with the lists of licensed carnival clubs held by the city police. Thus her book, published by the CDFB and addressed to educated readers such as folklorists and social scientists but also, in several explicit instances, to tourists interested in helpful tips,¹⁸¹ presented a relatively narrow view of what types and embodiments of local carnival culture were "legitimate" and worthwhile for spectators to see, and for official sponsors to recognize and support.

An additional indication of her centralizing impulse is in a 1965 letter to a colleague on the Carnival Commission. She offers a range of critiques and suggestions with respect to judges and the carnival parade space, then addresses "the problem of suburban carnival," which she took as competing with official carnival.¹⁸² This demonstrates the tension between Real's dual roles as student of folklore and administrator of carnival, a tension that would long outlast her brief tenure and affect the Pernambucan tourism department's later management in both spheres.¹⁸³ Expressed

also tracked the value of subsidies given to licensed groups over the years, and the financial problems facing individual groups or categories—everything from the lack of a permanent headquarters, to the high price of ostrich feathers for costuming.

¹⁸¹ Real, *O Folclore no Carnaval do Recife*, 93, 159-160.

¹⁸² "Right now, carnival in the suburbs represents a grave threat to the traditional carnival in the center of Recife. This is not just because the Commission's distribution of funds is helping support activities there, often disproportionately. But various carnival organizers in the suburbs are encouraging the trend, holding their own competitions and offering excellent cash prizes, handsome trophies and medallions, et cetera. It is becoming more attractive for some clubs to attend those invitations than the actual parade in the city center! Recognizing that carnival in the suburbs is certainly important, animated, and frequently better organized than what takes place in the center, it is necessary to create ways to make those events contribute to carnival in the center, instead of diminishing or threatening it. If we don't do something, carnival could disappear from the center of the city. The Federation could demand that licensed clubs parade first in the center, and only after that would they be permitted to appear in the suburb; or the Commission could invite all the organizers of carnival in the suburbs to participate here in the center, in diverse capacities, with specific timetables." "Memorandum para Sr. Antônio Hugo Guimarães. Assunto: Nossa Conversa do dia 29 de Março de 1965," KR CEp1 doc 6 (FJN, KRCEp1 doc.1/20).

¹⁸³ The consolidation of Recife's main carnival and folklore organizations under Real's leadership in the mid-late 1960s emphasized their symbiotic relationship, and would become an influential model of

privately, her interest was more in the integrity of central carnival as a space of disciplined festivity and touristic appeal than in whatever different or spontaneous cultural events may be occurring in the suburbs. The Commission expressed guarded enthusiasm for decentralization in 1964 as long as it was hierarchically ordered through the Commission itself to local branch organizations led by aldermen.¹⁸⁴ However, this impulse was balanced by a fear that money handed through the Commission to district politicians would lead to corruption, which fostered the counterbalancing interest in maintaining both carnival, and the Commission's sole authority, centralized.¹⁸⁵

Part of what was driving carnival's decentralization was economic—the inability of clubs to maintain headquarters in the city center, due to increasing rents and urban development, so in addition to “unaffiliated” carnival culture in the suburbs there was the problem of affiliated clubs moving away, far from easy oversight, and re-establishing themselves in far-flung areas. To Real, as to other culture managers in mid-1960s Recife, the “spontaneity” of additional carnival revelry outside and independent of the city's institutional reach was regarded as a threat that must be contained, through finding ways to diminish its funding, incorporating its activists, or mandating rules that gave it a secondary status relative to official carnival.

The Musicians' Union and Economic Pressure

strategic cultural policy after the national folklore movement withered in the early 1970s and state tourism departments took over many of the bureaucratic and administrative dimensions—a process that occurred in Recife in 1972, when the city's Carnival Organizing Commission (founded 1955) was dissolved and its activities absorbed into a new Carnival Promotional Commission within Recife's Metropolitan Tourism Enterprise (Empetur). This was decreed in law number 10.537 of 14 September 1972. Claudia Lima, *Evoé: História do Carnaval das Tradições Mitológicas ao Trio Elétrico* (Recife: Raizes Brasileiras, 2001), 120.

¹⁸⁴ “Baile municipal deu lucro.”

¹⁸⁵ “Dirigentes da Federação Carnavalesca querem elaborar desde logo planos da folia de 66,” KR Jp6 doc 568 (FJN, KRJp6doc.501/600).

Real was particularly concerned with the growing clout of the musicians' union in Recife. She made it a point to criticize what she saw as the musicians' increasingly rapacious demands for payment during carnival, which was a "brutal factor" threatening the essence and viability of the *folguedos*, especially the *frevo* clubs:

Not only did the rampant inflation of the 60's hit these groups especially hard, but the demands of the musicians' union for high hourly wages (and the composers' union for royalties) became a threat to the existence of the clubs. Up until then, it had been possible to draw upon musicians from municipal bands in small interior towns for their orchestras. For remuneration, these musicians were quite content just to receive room and board during the festival, plus an elegant new uniform, and to have the opportunity to parade in the big city. In the mid-60s, however, the growing pressure of the union to have all parade musicians unionized had provoked a major crisis... By then, the musicians, unionized or not, were the only components of the clubs drawing wages. All the other participants danced without pay, proud just to have a role in the choreographic pageant of their beloved club and hopeful for a victorious placement by the judging committee.¹⁸⁶

Here, the growing professionalization of the musicians was encouraging strategies distinct from the collective values of the larger carnival clubs as traditional social organizations, many of whose members, Real noted, were not themselves salaried workers. The musicians' ostensible exploitation of Recife's carnival ran counter to what Real saw, and hoped to maintain, as its "cooperative spirit." There was open conflict on the street, as carnival clubs had resorted to hiring amateurs or non-union musicians from the rural interior, while union members tried to physically blockade the "scabs" from joining the parades.¹⁸⁷ Privately, she expressed frustration to Renato Almeida in 1967 that so many groups were sacrificing "out of the love of folklore... But Grandpa, the people can't keep doing everything for free! Talented musicians, the *folguedos*, they all deserve something, anything, otherwise it is preferable to be a factory worker and watch

¹⁸⁶ Real, *O Folclore no Carnaval do Recife*, 249-250.

¹⁸⁷ "O clube das Pás pode sair mas não negará apoio aos co-irmãos," *Diário da Noite*, 18 January 1965. KR Jp5 doc 467 (FJN, KRJp5doc.401/500).

television for recreation. But Pernambuco, the state and the capital, are BROKE!”¹⁸⁸

Notably, even in the face of dire state finances, as a leader she continued to foster the carnival groups’ dependence on public funds and deny the legitimacy of market solutions for *folguedos*, which would compromise their status as official folklore as well as diminish the state’s oversight and control of them (a situation that would arise with Recife’s samba schools, as we will see in the next section). In broad terms the situation recalled how critics viewed the impacts of the musicians’ union on Rio’s carnival. However, the growing assertiveness of the union nationally was creating unlikely allegiances of critics, as Real’s personal clippings file reveals. In 1963 Ary Barroso, composer of “Aquarela do Brasil” (1939) and other patriotic standards of Brazilian popular music, was locked in a battle with the Order of Brazilian Musicians (created December 1960) over his refusal to pay dues. In response, the union’s president prohibited musicians anywhere in Brazil from playing Barroso’s music, a tactic rejected by the Brazilian Composers’ Syndicate, a separate union that the Order of Musicians’ directors hoped to absorb.¹⁸⁹ Real was clearly following the case with interest, and it seems clear her sympathies would have been with Barroso and not the Order of Musicians—whose growing power and importance Edison Carneiro had praised in his 1962 Samba Charter. Carneiro went so far as to imagine a future alliance between the

¹⁸⁸ Letter to Renato Almeida, 27 September 1967. KR CEp1 doc 10 (FJN, KRCEp1doc.1/20).

¹⁸⁹ When David Nasser, a friend of Barroso’s, arranged for an orchestra to play Barroso’s music live in the Rio TV Tupi studio, leaders of the Order of Musicians arrived and invaded the set during the show. “A Ordem dos Músicos Quer a Gaita de Ary: Os Compositores Ficaram ao Lado de Ary,” *O Cruzeiro*, 16 February 1963, KR Jp3 doc 268 (FJN, KRJp3doc.201/300). Barroso had initially been considered merely late with payments, but he was increasingly disturbed by the Order’s move to take over the Composer’s Syndicate, and by new proposed rules that the Order would control the collection and distribution of royalties; and that Brazil’s musicians would have to pay dues and be associated with the Order, as well as pass an official music exam, to perform or have their compositions played. Foreign composers, however, were exempt from exams or dues. Barroso complained, “Composers and musicians have long seen each other as brothers in arms; all we needed was the Order of Musicians to come along and sour this fraternity.”

Brazilian folklore movement, the Order of Musicians, and a representative body of the samba schools that would work toward increasing the diffusion of authentic Brazilian music to the world.¹⁹⁰ In 1964, Carneiro also took a position on folklore-inspired popular music that might have rankled Barroso, who was widely recognized for adapting traditional elements of Brazilian music (from rhythms and melodies to lyrical references) to radio-friendly orchestrations in bluntly patriotic settings. Carneiro argued that the Ministry of Education and Culture should create a body of musicians and folklorists with sub-commissions at the state level, like the CNFL to regulate the use of folklore in Brazilian music, imposing royalty payments on authors and composers for the use of folkloric raw material; those payments should go to the Campaign for the Defense of Brazilian Folklore, who, he indicated, was best qualified to return them (in undisclosed forms of support) to the “folk,” i.e. the true authors.¹⁹¹

In Recife’s carnival, any collaboration was not likely in practice since most carnival clubs (unlike samba schools) relied on musicians who might not be club members themselves, but an independent class of artisans who played for various entities. Several remedies for the 1965 “musicians crisis” were floated. An association of 86 carnival groups proposed their own detailed fee list for musicians’ carnival participation to the union, stating that if it were denied (which it was) the Federation and Commission should circumvent the union by hiring one official orchestra to be situated at the judges’

¹⁹⁰ Carneiro, *Carta do Samba*, 14.

¹⁹¹ Carneiro, “Proteção para a Música Folclórica,” in *Dinâmica do Folclore*, 117-120. Carneiro did not overtly distinguish between popular music and more erudite forms, but he indicted the use of traditional music or instruments in advertisements, and their appearance on “discs, radio, and television.” His implied distinction between “commercial” music (including that of Barroso) and art music in this context went back to Mário de Andrade, who viewed folklore as legitimate source material for creating non-commercialized compositions of truly national music that would be *performed*, not purchased—including chorales, which Andrade argued had “social value... [they] united people and generalized sentiments. Andrade, *Ensaio sobre a Música Brasileira*, 64-5; Stroud, *The Defence of Tradition in Brazilian Popular Music*, 138-9.

stage and play all the clubs' songs, a highly impractical solution.¹⁹² Or, more remarkably, it was proposed that officials should allow the use of trucks carrying amplified sound systems to play recordings of "typical" music for each type of association—an idea that struck most observers, whatever their sympathies, as a desperate last resort.¹⁹³ Perhaps the only beneficiary of that arrangement would have been the Rozenblit studio and record factory, which had opened in 1954 in Pernambuco to capitalize on Rio's growing interest in Recife's carnival music.¹⁹⁴ Real's suggestion to another member of the Commission—that the Federation itself establish a music school (or several schools, spread among the largest carnival clubs) to train musicians within the specific folkloric framework of carnival, thus circumventing the professional syndicate¹⁹⁵—was a long-term solution and not acted upon in a thorough way. Ultimately, the Federation stepped in to moderate the dispute between musicians and carnival clubs in 1965, but the tension has persisted and has been met with diverse solutions in Recife's carnival to the present day.

Samba Schools in Recife

Although controversy over samba schools reached fever pitch during the mid-1960s, it was not new. In 1954 the lawyer and journalist Mário Melo (1884-1959) published a vigorous screed against the penetration of samba in local carnival. Melo, who had been one of the founders of the Carnival Federation in 1935, complained of the growing influence of both samba schools and samba recordings in Recife; waxing

¹⁹² "O clube das Pás pode sair mas não negará apoio aos co-irmãos."

¹⁹³ "Alta taxa para músicos," *Jornal do Commercio* (Recife), 22 January 1965 (KR Jp5 doc 471 (FJN, KRJp5doc.401/500); "Exibição dos clubes com 'pick-ups' só em última recurso: Absurda exigência das orquestras," *Diário de Pernambuco*, 19 January 1965 (KR Jp5 doc 468 (FJN, KRJp5doc.401/500).

¹⁹⁴ Rozenblit also entered the local market for Recife's carnival music, effectively competing with such Rio-based labels as RCA Victor, Odeon, and Continental. Leonardo Vilaça Saldanha, *Frevendo no Recife: A Música Popular Urbana do Recife e sua consolidação através do Rádio* (Ph.D. diss., Campinas, 2008).

¹⁹⁵ Arquivo Katarina Real, "Memorandum para Sr. Antônio Hugo Guimarães. Assunto: Nossa Conversa do dia 29 de Março de 1965."

conspiratorial, he alleged “They want to turn us into *cariocas* by force—some of them doing it consciously, some unconsciously.”¹⁹⁶ He was especially upset about the recent creation of a judging category for samba schools in Recife’s carnival, which had not been part of the carnival milieu in 1938,¹⁹⁷ and the hiring of an orchestra from Rio de Janeiro to perform in the International Club (which was known for *frevo*). “We never had samba schools here originally. Good Pernambucans must rise up against the folkloric distortion of our carnival, once so renowned for its authenticity.”

But there was no grassroots mobilization of cultural regionalism against the samba schools. Rather, while a cohort of musicians and intellectuals fretted, the Rio-style *folguedos* grew in number, scale, and public adherents, posing a challenge to defenders of the idea of local carnival that focused exclusively on “genuine” Pernambucan culture.¹⁹⁸ Years before, Real herself had earlier acknowledged the challenge of reconciling unity and diversity in Brazilian carnival; her 1960 thesis noted that the “racial and cultural assimilation taking place in the country today contribute to the maintenance of the nation’s homogeneity. It is our opinion that one of the most provocative means of discovering the true nature of these underlying relationships is by an examination of the pre-Lenten carnival festivities.” But the idea of homogeneity was undermined by her careful selection of five carnival cities that she said “most clearly typify the Brazilian carnival,” which opens the question of what alternative identities were being expressed in

¹⁹⁶ “O folclore no carnaval,” *Jornal do Commercio* (Recife), 4 March 1954.

¹⁹⁷ Discussion of the “1938 Carnival Prize,” to be awarded by the recently created Carnival Federation, listed only groups of local culture: *frevo*, *maracatu*, and *caboclinho*. Samba schools may have sprung up spontaneously in late 1930s Recife as part of the process Vianna suggests, but in the 1960s the four oldest samba schools researched by Katarina Real dated their existence to the 1940s (and the trend was actually opposite, with “explosive growth” of Recife’s samba schools in the 1950s and 1960s).

¹⁹⁸ “Samba está crescendo na capital quente do frevo,” *Diário da Noite*, 3 March 1965. KR Jp 6 doc 549 (FJN, KRJp6doc.501/600).

the other carnival sites around the country she mentions as “interesting and colorful” but did not examine.¹⁹⁹ Nor did she anticipate regional rejection of “national” culture.

Real’s long commitment to the concept of carnival as expressing Brazil’s racial assimilation and harmony might lead one to predict her support for Rio-style samba schools, which had been ideologically constructed by Brazil’s political and popular-cultural spheres in the 1930s as embodiments of the nation’s unique “racial democracy,” as Freyre characterized Brazilian social relations.²⁰⁰ Her interpretation of them in her thesis did not incorporate Freyre’s term, although she cited Freyre’s writings in other parts of the work. Instead, she saw the samba schools as representing “inner Negro values” that, through the special experience of carnival, provided a “mechanism” to integrate the people of African descent into Brazilian society, similar to “the Black Brotherhoods of Sidi Blal in the Algerian Maghreb.”²⁰¹ In other words, the samba schools were not themselves expressions of racial democracy in their dance, music, or anything else; rather, she saw Brazilian carnival itself as the manifestation of that national trait, within which the samba schools fit, just like the *afoxés* of Salvador or the *frevos* of Recife. Perhaps they might then be similarly integrated into Recife’s carnival.

However, Real would go on to work closely with Freyre over much of the decade of the 1960s (he was honorary president of the state folklore sub-commission), and he was undoubtedly an influence on her thinking at both national and local levels; indeed, she later related that she first encountered an English translation of his *Casa Grande e Senzala* (*The Masters and the Slaves*, 1946) while in college at Stanford, and this book

¹⁹⁹ Real, “The Brazilian Urban ‘Carnival,’” 4, 84-5.

²⁰⁰ Vianna, *The Mystery of Samba*.

²⁰¹ Real, “The Brazilian Urban ‘Carnival,’” 131-2.

ignited her interests in Brazil, Recife in particular.²⁰² As a scholar, Freyre was a notoriously proud, even iconoclastic regionalist, and he was also a tireless critic of what he viewed as deformations in Recife's carnival. His critiques went back to 1937, just as the Carnival Federation was beginning to influence Recife's festivities. He lambasted their interventions, claiming they made carnival "unrecognizable... the rich businesses should keep out of popular culture. This year, the Federation turned the parade into a history lesson. What's for next year? A grammar lesson? The best of carnival is its independence, its spontaneity, its true popular spirit. It doesn't need erudite models, or bureaucracy, or anything else but what it is."²⁰³ But he also would perceive the samba schools as unwelcome and artificial interlopers in Recife's carnival, a fact which complicates the way Vianna recruited Freyre into his account of the consolidation of samba as a national symbol in the 1920s and early 1930s. Freyre is depicted as being more concerned with defending national culture against American or European culture than with protecting northeastern, specifically Pernambucan culture against invasion from Brazil's industrialized south.²⁰⁴ But that is precisely the rhetoric Freyre increasingly employed, such as in his 1966 opinion piece "Recife native, yes; Sub-*Carioca*, No!" He deplored the "invasion" of the samba schools in Recife, saying "Carnival in Nice is lovely in France, and that of Venice, in Italy; the *carioca* carnival, in Rio. But here in Recife, re-creating and officializing the samba schools is killing the *frevo*, the *maracatu*, the popular clubs, the spontaneity. Managers are imposing a false exoticism, this

²⁰² Real, *Eudes: O Rei do Maracatu*, 65-6.

²⁰³ *Diário de Pernambuco*, 11 February 1937.

²⁰⁴ Vianna, *The Mystery of Samba*, especially chapter 6, "Gilberto Freyre."

caricature of Rio's carnival, that is contrary to the spirit of our tradition and should be treated as a crime of treason in Pernambuco."²⁰⁵

If this seems hyperbolic, it was rather standard stuff as observers in Recife fervently debated the integrity of local carnival at a moment of economic uncertainty and freighted nationalism. It can be seen as part of the general concern shared by the folklore movement about the penetration of "foreign" music in *folguedos*. Rock and roll (in its American and Brazilian forms), viewed as toxic to tradition for being both foreign and a fad, had recently been the target of nationalistic ire in Recife where both impressionable young audiences and complacent musicians were highlighted as vulnerable to its temptations.²⁰⁶ It was proudly reported in Recife in 1957 that a showing of the controversial American teen movie *Rock Around the Clock* was "met with indifference, except for the sparse applause of a few playboys... The Pernambucan is accustomed to a more exciting and provocative rhythm, the *frevo*."²⁰⁷ There was no trouble, but several bold youths who were "performing the rock dance (a mix of jive, swing, and twist)" in the theater's foyer with Bill Haley records in their hands "had their trajectory intercepted by the manager and several police officers." Of course, the phenomenon of rock and

²⁰⁵ "Recifense, sim; subcarioca, não!" *Jornal do Commercio* (Recife), 27 February 1966.

²⁰⁶ For instance, "Frevo: Mais frenético e harmonioso do que o próprio céebre 'Rock'n'roll,'" *Diário de Pernambuco*, 07 March 1957. A decade later, the controversy centered on the performance of Brazilian rock, called *iê-iê-iê* (after the "yeah-yeah-yeah" of the Beatles' 1964 hit "She Loves You") in carnival parties at private clubs. Katarina Real joined *frevo* composers in condemning the practice, especially during carnival, which was seen as moment to emphasize and celebrate authentic local culture. "Compositores contra o iê-iê-iê nos clubes," *Jornal do Commercio* (Recife), 09 February 1967. KR Jp 8 doc 721 (FJN, KRJp8doc.701/800).

²⁰⁷ "O 'rock'n roll não conseguiu contagiar o publico Recifense," *Diário de Pernambuco*, 21 February 1957.

roll's threat to Brazilian youth was a national concern: in 1963 in the Rio *favela* of Jacarézinho, a zealous policeman arrested several young couples for dancing the twist.²⁰⁸

In 1950s Recife, rejection of Rio's carnival music seems to have been less of a focus than countering the ostensible dangers of American popular music. In 1957, the same year *Rock Around the Clock's* theater was assigned a police detail, Recife's elite Yacht Club advertised, as "A Carnival Present!", a night with the group Os Copacabana, who had come straight from Rio de Janeiro to perform one night there and one night at the auditorium of the radio station Tamandare.²⁰⁹ This appears to have elicited no outcry, but clearly, the ground was shifting. By 1959, a journalist writing for the *Diário de Pernambuco* asserted that the carnival that year could be considered "the carnival of Pernambucan popular music, because not one samba or march from Rio de Janeiro managed to become a success... the people wanted local compositions."²¹⁰ And by the 1960s, an influential subset of Recife's culture producers and public intellectuals were rejecting the samba schools as neither organically local, nor properly national (as Edison Carneiro had maintained)—but instead casting them as narrowly representative of Rio's culture and values. In 1965, a Recife journalist excoriated the presence of samba schools in Recife's private carnival clubs, "divulging even further the southern carnival here in the land of *frevo*... there are as many sambas performed here as there are native songs [*músicas da terra*]. Meanwhile our radio stations and orchestras defend playing the music

²⁰⁸ "'Twist' em favela é crime e dá cadeia no Jacarézinho," *Última Hora*, 22 January 1963. Broader discussions of Brazilian popular music nationalism in the 1950s and 1960s are in McCann, *Hello Hello Brazil*; Tinhorão, *Música Popular: Um tema em debate*; and Christopher Dunn, *Brutality Garden: Tropicália and the Emergence of a Brazilian Counterculture* (University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

²⁰⁹ The advertisement, complete with seven photographs of the group, appeared in the *Diário de Pernambuco*, 02 February 1957.

²¹⁰ "As músicas mais cantadas pelo folião nos 3 dias de carnaval," *Diário de Pernambuco*, 12 February 1959. The writer's defiance faltered somewhat as he noted, "Although some *sambas* were picked up and sung by a few revelers, they did not reach the level of constituting, really, proven successes."

of the south by saying it's good business, risking bringing about the demise of the *frevo*.²¹¹ Here again the local carnival culture is implicitly defined as folkloric, in being non-capitalized and both outside but vulnerable to the market—and vulnerable also to the imperialist, homogenizing nature of samba as mass culture, not patriotic national expression. Thus, in another article, a writer begs for “municipal public authorities” to “protect the history and typical music of our city” from samba schools that “departed from the Rio *favelas* to take Recife by assault.”²¹²

Curiously, little mention was made in Pernambuco of the presence of *frevo* in Rio's carnival. There, *frevo* had been an informal feature of carnival festivities since the mid-1930s, when Pernambucans living in Rio formed an offshoot of the Vassourinhas club in 1934 in the Saúde neighborhood; by 1935, their parade consisted of 35 musicians as well as numerous dancers and flagbearers.²¹³ *Frevo* performance had later been adopted into Rio's official, judged carnival parades—which Recife's nationalists might have applauded as a sort of strategic counter-offensive, as proof that their culture was also expanding outward and taking root in new soil.²¹⁴ Carnival *frevo* and marches from

²¹¹ “Samba recebe ajuda de compositores locais em prejuízo do nosso frêvo,” *Jornal do Commercio* (Recife), 19 Dezembro 1965.

²¹² “Carnaval autêntico,” *Diário da Noite* (Recife), 16 January 1965.

²¹³ Leonardo Dantas Silva, “O frevo no Rio de Janeiro,” *Revivendo Músicas* (http://www.revivendomusicas.com.br/curiosidades_01.asp?id=144), accessed 08 February 2012. Eneida (*História do Carnaval Carioca*, 232) puts a different slant on the story, suggesting that *frevo* in Rio began as a fad after a performance there by the famous Recife group Vassourinhas—the same group that, constantly touring, would inspire the creation of the *trio elétrico* in Salvador in 1951. Silva's account is far more detailed, but does not mention a previous performance by a visiting group. Whatever the case, the growing popularity of Recife's *frevo* in Rio was noted in the media as well; Katarina Real's clippings archive contains an issue of the national magazine *Revista da Semana* (26 February 1955) with a feature called “O frevo invade o Rio.”

²¹⁴ Edison Carneiro referred to *frevo* in Rio in “Elementos novos no folclore carioca,” an essay in *Sabedoria Popular* (1957), which emphasized the flourishing of inter-regional folklore in Rio due to the “exodus” of rural populations to the cities; similarly, Silva (“O frevo no Rio de Janeiro”) observed that Pernambucan laborers who had worked on the construction of Brasília had created at least three *frevo* clubs in that region by 1968. There is some limited information available on the nature of *frevo*'s integration into Rio's period carnival. In 1957, five *frevo* groups participated in Rio carnival relying, like the samba schools, on no official support beyond small cash awards for the winners—which represented, for Eneida,

Recife had long been a staple of Rio's recording industry, as well, with Pernambucan musicians working alongside *carioca* colleagues at Odeon, Philips, RCA Victor, and Columbia since the mid-1930s.²¹⁵ However, critics in Recife worried that the orchestral arrangements of the studios were smoothing out the music's characteristic rhythms and replacing the brash trombones with sweeter saxophones, replacing the street-parade qualities with jazz aesthetics; composer / folklorist Guerra Peixe worried that the much-lauded excursion of Vassourinhas to perform in Rio's carnival in 1951 signaled "The Coming Decline of the *Frevo*," as it was a sign that *frevo* was becoming a fad and Recife's authentic music would be overwhelmed by "banal" mass-culture versions.²¹⁶

Determining samba's place in Recife was a classic problem of determining the nature of true local popular taste in a complex cultural milieu increasingly informed by not just populist patriotic symbols (that could be national or regional in dimension), but the growing pervasiveness of consumer culture and the culture industry. If "the people" in Recife wanted samba, was this not their authentic, popular voice, which radios, clubs, and carnival groups could spontaneously arrange themselves to answer with local Rio-flavored music? Perhaps not, if, as was darkly alleged, Recife's radio stations might be heavily playing samba on order from distant bosses in Rio to make the music "popular"

"a victory for the Pernambucans" (ibid., 234). But in order to appear in carnival, the *frevo* groups had to play by the rules; the city's 1953 Carnival Regulations laid out the context in which they would be permitted: "As we are dealing with a competition intended to elevate the level of the Carnival of the City, as well as enhance the brilliance of the festivities to give tourists an idea of the splendor of the parades, the only groups allowed to compete will present themselves in proper style respecting the characteristics of the music" (*Órgão Consultivo do Carnaval: Regulamento para o Desfile das Grandes Sociedades, Ranchos, Escolas de Samba, e Frevos* [Rio de Janeiro: Departamento de Turismo e Certames da Prefeitura do Distrito Federal, 1953]: Regulamento do Desfile do "Frevo" para o Carnaval de 1953, article 4). Notably, the city's cash awards for *frevo* were not markedly different than for the competition of the largest samba schools; a total of 12,500 *cruzeiros* would be divided among the top five samba schools, and a total of 10,000 *cruzeiros* for the the *frevos* (amounts were subdivided differently, and, unlike with samba schools, the *frevo* group coming in fifth would receive nothing).

²¹⁵ Larry Crook, *Brazilian Music: Northeastern Traditions and Heartbeat of a Modern Nation* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2005), 207-210.

²¹⁶ Guerra Peixe, "A provável próxima decadência do frevo," *Diário da Noite* (Recife), 27 January 1951.

not authentically but in the commercial, industrial sense, to expand market share of the “samba racket.”²¹⁷ In 1964, the famous *frevo* musician Nelson Ferreira briefly campaigned for a restriction on sambas in Recife carnival (four “native” songs would have to be played for each samba).²¹⁸ The issue gained national attention, with Recife’s tension between samba and *frevo* being characterized by the magazine *O Cruzeiro* in terms of a sort of Russian / American Cold War wary “coexistence.”²¹⁹ A year before, Arnaldo Moreira Pinto, a member of the Commission, publicized his dislike for the samba schools; in a good-humored but challenging response by others on the Commission, he was given the responsibility to present the award for Best Samba School to the winning group, Estudantes de São José. Pinto performed his duty, but boldly announced at the ceremony, “I am against samba schools!”²²⁰

Katarina Real could hardly avoid wading into the issue, but given what she found during her field research—“the samba schools grew tremendously in number and size, captivating the people’s sympathies more and more”—it would be complicated to take a stand that did not alienate one side or the other. In late 1965, while various observers of carnival and the leaders of Recife’s samba schools energetically debated a proposal to permit the schools to perform only on one day (Saturday) of the festivity,²²¹ Real spoke to

²¹⁷ “Meta carnavalesca: Esforço comum é para que carnaval seja autêntico,” uncited clipping. KR Jp 5 doc 440 (FJN, KRJp5doc.401/500). Real echoed the view in *O Folclore no Carnaval do Recife*: “[E]ach year national radio, television and record producers, mostly based in the South, aggressively market Rio’s samba music in detriment to the locally popular *frevo*s and *marchas-de-bloco*” (223).

²¹⁸ In 1965, the Commission created a new composition category for popular carnival songs based on musical elements of the *maracatu*, in what should be understood as a related incentive for composers to research and promote this local tradition. “Compositores aplaudem concessão de prêmio oficial para *maracatu*,” *Jornal do Commercio* (Recife), 7 January 1965. KR Jp5 doc 451 (FJN, KRJp5doc.401/500).

²¹⁹ “Pernambuco: Samba e frevo de mãos dadas,” *O Cruzeiro*, 22 February 1964. KR Jp 4 doc 359 (FJN, KRJp4doc.301/400).

²²⁰ “Samba carioca passou a ser grande atração no Recife dos frevos,” *Jornal do Commercio* (Recife), 28 February 1963. KR JP3 doc 295 (FJN, KRJp3doc.201/300).

²²¹ This measure was passed in mid-1966 as a measure to “reanimate *frevo*” on the street (“COC disposta a defender o carnaval Pernambucano,” *Diário da Noite* [Recife], 12 July 1966), and also, in the

the local media. Her statement was notable for its equanimity, while not engaging directly in the debate over limiting samba performance to one day. Described by the reporter as “the American who is one of the greatest animators of Pernambucan carnival,” she stressed the unity of all Recife’s carnival rhythms, declaring that cultural multiplicity was a unique local characteristic and that one should not dwell on distinctions between samba and *frevo*: “The richness and beauty of Pernambuco carnival reside precisely in the variety of rhythms that are played during the festival of Momo,” she stated, clarifying: “I believe it proper that *frevo* should be defended as an authentic local rhythm, but I also believe that samba contributes to the brilliance of our carnival.”²²²

These remarks were significant in two ways. First, although Real was treading the familiar discursive ground that described Recife’s carnival as unique among Brazilian carnivals for its diverse folklore, she was not a journalist but a prestigious local authority who here deliberately claimed and redeployed the idea of carnival’s “multicultural” character in a form that persists to the present day in a manner of place advertizing.²²³

segregationist terms of one journalist, “prevent the samba schools from interfering with carnival processions and provoking lamentable incidents” (“Comissão organizadora do carnaval reúne-se e aprecia várias sugestões,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, 14 December 1965; KR Jp7 doc 606 [FJN, KRJp7doc.601/700]). However, it did not appear to be in force long. Writing in 1968, Real stated that the largest schools parade on Monday night, with the smaller schools appearing on Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday mornings (*O Folclore no Carnaval do Recife*, 50).

²²² “Katarina Real prega a união dos ritmos carnavalescos,” *Jornal do Commercio* (Recife), 24 December 1965.

²²³ The notion that what distinguished Recife carnival from other Brazilian carnivals was its “multicultural” character became standard amongst city boosters as state and municipal investment in tourism grew after the late 1960s. In 2011, for example, this discourse was echoed in Recife mayor João da Costa’s introduction to the carnival booklet distributed to locals and tourists: “The largest popular festival of Brazil, the Multicultural Carnival of Recife, has begun... In just one party, all the rhythms encounter each other: frevo, samba, maracatu, caboclinhos... *Troças*, clubs, *bois*, *ursos* share space with attractions from outside, ratifying Recife as the multicultural capital of the country.” *Agenda Cultural: Carnaval 2011* (Prefeitura do Recife), ano 16 #187, March 2011. Pride in *frevo* as a sort of necessary preexisting condition that facilitates such cultural open-mindedness also appears in the rhetoric, as in this 1996 official booklet on the history of Recife carnival: “Carnival collects, pluralizes, and diversifies all the *folguedos*, transforming them into something more... It’s very simple, not acculturation or assimilation, not ethnicity or heredity or cultural relativity—it’s just hearing and feeling the music. No one resists when the *frevo* begins!” *História do Carnaval: A Maior Folia do Mundo* (Recife: Secretaria de Turismo, 1996).

Recife's carnival was constructed as containing the "national" or *carioca* culture of samba schools within the receptive frame of its own regional culture, which was intended to acknowledge the prestige and influence of samba while constraining it merely to a "contribution" to the larger, preexistent local festival. Second, whatever their later influence as marketing rhetoric, these diplomatic comments to a city paper were targeted to the people most likely to read them, that is, the various local publics Real dealt with on a daily basis; she was careful to not alienate any of them. But in other contexts, and perhaps unsurprisingly as time went on, she took an increasingly rigid stance against the penetration of samba and any other supposedly non-"native" culture in local carnival.

Her rejection of rock and roll is hardly surprising, since that form was widely regarded as a true non-native threat to the vitality of *frevo*: "It is not possible that, with so much of our own music, we should be divulging the music of others—principally during carnival."²²⁴ But Real's comments about rock may also shed light on more precisely why, and how, she believed samba posed a challenge to local carnival. In general, while several of the samba schools Real researched had been founded decades before,²²⁵ the marked rise of samba's popularity and the founding of many new groups in the 1960s coincided with what numerous guardians of culture viewed as the vulnerability of local *frevo* and *maracatu* to the machinations of the culture industry, and to broader economic

²²⁴ "Compositores contra o iê-iê-iê." That carnival represented a time to express "pure" Pernambucan tradition, not weaken them by experimenting with foreign styles or hybrids, was long the hegemonic view of culture managers and would remain so at least until the advent of Recife's *mangue* movement in the 1990s, combining *maracatu* and *côco* rhythms with heavy metal and rap, and its enthusiastic introduction into carnival by young people; by then, too, the successful model of Salvador's local-global carnival had encouraged a new attitude of flexibility towards experimentation, especially involving global youth culture.

²²⁵ Her research notes include entries for 32 samba schools in Recife (plus one more in the neighboring city of Olinda). Of these, she had the date of foundation for 22. Four dated from the 1940s, five from the 1950s, and an overwhelming 13, or 59%, from the 1960s (her research stopped in 1968). Compare that to the particular type of local *frevo* club called *troça*, which exemplified the worrisome opposite trend. She had founding dates for 28 of them: 3 (1910s), 4 (1920s), 6 (1930s), 7 (1940s), 5 (1950s), 3 (1960s). In other words, the *troça* reached its high point in 1940 and its slide appeared to be correlated with the rise of samba schools "in the land of *frevo*." Arquivo Katarina Real: Produção Intelectual (FJN, KRPIp1doc.1).

problems affecting Recife's carnival *folguedos*; the samba schools could be not merely associated with this disturbing destabilization of tradition, but assigned part of the blame for it.²²⁶ Real concurred with this position, offering the specific allegation in 1989 that the samba schools' aesthetics were influencing presentations of *frevo*, leading them away from what was "typical." Noting that the largest *frevo* clubs were adding more ranks of dancers arranged in squads performing larger and more complex choreography, and that they now used vibrant allegorical floats and banners, she wrote: "Some of these innovations derive from the strong influence of the samba schools... It is only natural that, to compete with the growing popularity and novelty of the schools, *frevo* clubs had to adopt the styles of the schools to defend their hegemony in Recife's carnival."²²⁷ As to changes in the local samba schools themselves, Real argued that the previously simple, artisanal, and varied nature of the groups' costumes, music, and floats began to change as a result of the introduction of television cameras: that is, the mass media was again to blame, though in a slightly different sense: once Recife's carnival began to be filmed for TV broadcast in 1961, the schools began to mimic more directly the spatial organization and thematic expression of Rio's samba schools in order to appear less provincial.²²⁸

A class analysis also underlay Real's discomfort with the samba schools, but in a somewhat complex way, since the composition of Recife's schools—from their ranks of drummers and dancers to featured personalities and directors—was heterogeneous: middle class and lower class people interacted and organized, but along lines she found problematic and ultimately affirming of negative hierarchies. Her critique of the samba schools attempted to show how they were not merely different from other local

²²⁶ "Samba está crescendo na capital quente do *frevo*."

²²⁷ Real, *O Folclore no Carnaval do Recife*, 165.

²²⁸ Real, *O Folclore no Carnaval do Recife*, 50-1.

traditional carnival clubs in nature, along with being generically “foreign” to Recife, but in fact were prejudicial to what she saw as the innately democratic qualities of Pernambucan society, which were embodied in *frevo*. Hers was a regionalized refutation of the concept that samba was a positive national (and nationalist) manifestation that was less stentorian in tone than Freyre’s, as she embedded her characterization of samba’s “otherness” in a framework of local detail provided from her field research.

The samba schools have a series of social and economic factors in their favor, placing them in a privileged position which the groups performing Pernambucan culture could only reach with great difficulty. First, most of the schools do not maintain permanent headquarters, since they are only a carnival phenomenon, and do not have to contend with that expense; nor do they have the mission to expand elementary education... Second, while the directors are often of middle class origin the drummers, nearly all of whom are poor black youths, are happy to participate for free, because they receive applause along with a new suit and pair of shoes; the drummers will also earn a bit of money from the private shows that elite carnival clubs contract with the schools for private performances.... Third, the middle class not merely accepts samba, but loves it. They find Recife somewhat provincial, and admire anything from Rio de Janeiro; families of means are delighted to pay for luxurious costumes for their pretty daughters to appear at the front of a samba school... Fourth, the schools here take advantage of the pervasive publicity of their colleagues in Rio, and feel proud to be part of a national movement... Finally, unlike traditional local groups, the samba schools provide a better “show” on television, through not only the costumes but an organization that allows their ordered ranks to be seen clearly while leaving space for the cameras to center on a featured dancer through the dramatic “close-up” that TV spectators love. The samba schools enjoy a future without worries.²²⁹

Real’s rejection of the samba schools as authentic carnival folklore in Recife did not draw directly from the debate between Almeida and Carneiro. While she affirmed Almeida’s broader point that the samba schools had a troublingly intimate relation with the culture industry, she did not take advantage of any of his other arguments—e.g., about their “foreign” music or dance elements. For her, being of non-Pernambucan origin was problematic enough, along with their association with middle-class values and

²²⁹ Real, *O Folclore no Carnaval do Recife*, 52-3.

participation. She noted that Recife's schools "are one of the few carnival manifestations in which the middle class are present," but their presence provided not an instance of integration and equality—as ostensibly it did in the case of the *maracatus*—but reinstituted quotidian social polarities: "Middle-class people are more apparent among the directorship and the principal dancers, and typically have lighter skin than all the other dancers or the drummers. Indeed it is only in the samba schools that one might see traces of separation according to class and color in Recife's carnival."²³⁰ The democratic values of Recife's carnival, already under duress due to the economic problems of the era, were here further upended by what Real saw as the schools' strident assertions of class and racial distinction.

Here too she was influenced by her friend and mentor Gilberto Freyre, who, in addition to his earlier substantial writings on Brazilian race relations, continued to pursue the subject. In a 1968 op-ed piece called "Careful, Brazilians," Freyre warned of nefarious forces—perhaps associated with Communists—attempting to introduce a "sentiment of the 'Brazilian negro,' as opposed to the Brazilian in general... with ideological-political meaning," into Brazilian carnival itself.²³¹ In her clipping, Real highlighted Freyre's lines: "What they are trying to do is introduce racial hatred to Brazil, linking it with class. They hope to create from Brazilian history a myth that the negro, as a slave, was invariably mistreated, persecuted, and oppressed by the white, when the reality was not always this and was usually quite different." He warned of agents trying to "Cubanize" carnival, a "democratically Brazilian festival, a festival of racial and social confraternity, cordially pan-Brazilian," and make it "an instrument of their sinister

²³⁰ Real, *O Folclore no Carnaval do Recife*, 53.

²³¹ "Cuidado, Brasileiros," *Diário de Pernambuco*, 21 January 1968. KR Jp8 doc 758 (FJN, KRJp8doc.701/800

plans.” Freyre never makes his reference clear, but he may have had in mind the controversial 1968 *enredo* by the famous Rio samba school Unidos de Lucas entitled “History of the Negro in Brazil,” which described the cruelty African slaves endured and the long road for their descendents to abolition.²³² From the perspective of Recife’s culture managers, it did not matter that in Rio, samba outside of carnival was being consolidated as a multiracial collective creation, its “pure” rough edges of heavy rhythm smoothed by the introduction of guitar, flute, or piano. The samba schools as they manifested themselves in Recife resulted immediately, Real argued, in the exposition of class and race difference, with poor Afro-Pernambucans making up the anonymous ranks of drummers while lighter-skinned middle class individuals composed the directorate and individually featured dancers. If samba was functioning in Rio to express and further the national ideal of racial democracy, in Recife it was taken as having the opposite effect.

Additionally, Recife’s schools relied on a different economic structure than other carnival *folgedos*. Their model was based on underwriting carnival’s expenses through lucrative private performance contracts in elite clubs (presumably at the expense of *frevo* and other local forms), and the individualized patronage of some wealthy families whose children were participating—keeping the schools free of most other carnival associations’ need to hire outside orchestras or deal with the musicians’ union at all. This, along with the lack of costs associated with maintaining a headquarters and the advantageous pre-existing mass-mediated infrastructure of publicity surrounding Brazil’s samba schools generally, freed the schools from the financial imperative to affiliate with the Federation

²³² Also called “Sublime Pergaminho” or “Sublime Parchment” in reference to Princess Isabel’s signing the Golden Law abolishing slavery, the *enredo* (written by Nilton Zavaris, Zeca Melodia and Carlinho Madrugada) was unusual for its blunt tone on the horror of slavery, especially in the political climate of 1968. It was quickly embraced by Afro-Brazilian musicians and activists.

and thus kept them relatively independent. Real noted with approval the “carnival legislation” implemented by Recife’s mayor in 1956 (and still then current), which amended the key 1955 law officializing traditional carnival by limiting official funding for samba schools to only 5% of all the public money each year that was devoted to supporting carnival organizations; but, she had to conclude, “the schools kept growing in number and size, winning over the public more and more each year.”²³³ This was the paradox for Real and other culture managers: the samba schools cohered around successful capitalist strategies to survive and proliferate that did not rely on the vicissitudes of limited public funding, but this also kept them to a certain extent outside the field of control that the Carnival Commission could exert on other licensed groups who were reliant on it. In order to participate in the official carnival and the competitions, of course, samba schools had to be legally affiliated with the Federation. The difference between them and all the other *folguedos* was that they did not depend on affiliating in order to receive city / state subsidies necessary to maintain their organization. Just as many had no physical headquarters where they could be located, they were a contingent, transient mixture of middle and lower class interests that occupied an unstable space simultaneously inside and outside of Recife’s “traditional” carnival. All this represented a vaguely autonomous force, enhancing the schools’ outsider status; that they were growing in number and public acceptance seemed to embody the corruption of local tradition and the “associative spirit” Real saw as indispensable to the cultivation of folklore. Although she included them in her writing on carnival folklore, she clearly saw them as “popular” but not in the organic sense of “deriving from the folk” which defined

²³³ Decree n. 1351, of 23 January 1956; article 2. Real, *O Folclore no Carnaval do Recife*, 48. Wording of the 1955 law (n. 3346 of 7 June 1955) promised financial support generally for “all the *blocos*, *troças*, samba schools, and other carnival organizations that contribute to the animation and beauty of carnival.”

true folklore. Despite all this, in face of the samba schools' growing public enthusiasm, Real was careful to praise them for contributing to the vibrancy of local carnival. This solution also played in to the description of Recife's "multicultural" carnival.

Real stepped down from her offices in 1968.²³⁴ Her successor in the state folklore sub-commission, Valdemar Valente, departed from Real's paradigm of administration by affirming "samba is not really a threat to *frevo*, and may contribute to it. Anything the people naturally embrace is valid. We cannot direct folklore, and samba is a national music."²³⁵ In 1967, Real had tactfully characterized the historical appearance of the schools in Recife as "an interesting case of inter-urban cultural diffusion," based on movements of soldiers and sailors between Recife and Rio before and during World War II.²³⁶ Writing years later, though, she described that process of diffusion in the terms a gardener might use for the encroachment of weeds: "I was deeply preoccupied with the growth of the samba schools, an importation from Rio de Janeiro, more exuberant each year, threatening to completely choke out the *folguedos* of Pernambucan origin."²³⁷

Conclusion

This chapter has explored how carnivals in Rio de Janeiro and Recife, the principal carnivals of midcentury Brazil, contended with conceptual frameworks of folklore and national authenticity, the problematic ideal that genuine national culture should reside outside market forces, and the centralizing interventions of state governments. Disagreements among folklorists regarding the nature of carnival itself—

²³⁴ "Katarina Real renuncia ao carnaval Pernambucano," *Jornal do Commercio* (Recife), 05 January 1968. The press reported various reasons for her resignation, but she wrote privately to Renato Almeida that rising anti-Americanism, likely a dimension of opposition to the intensifying military dictatorship, was the main factor. Letter to Renato Almeida dated 4 July 1968, copy in the Katarina Real Archive, Correspondência Emitida (FJN, KRCEp1doc.1/20, doc. 11).

²³⁵ "No carnaval do Recife cabe o samba também," *Diário de Pernambuco*, 26 January 1969.

²³⁶ Real, *O Folclore no Carnaval do Recife*, 221.

²³⁷ Real, *Eudes: O Rei do Maracatu*, 19.

whether it was a contaminated celebration of mass culture's artifice and whims (Renato Almeida), a valuable testing ground for proletariat socio-political organizations (Edison Carneiro), or a reservoir and "museum" of regional culture that otherwise might die out (Katarina Real), indicate both the diversity within Brazil's folklore movement and the centrality of carnival to debates regarding Brazil's past and its future.

The larger question the chapter raises, setting the stage for analysis of Salvador's period festival, is how claims to the national authenticity of carnival culture have been framed in each site. From the angle of regional and intellectual reception, Rio's samba schools, constructed by the Vargas regime in the late 1930s as symbols of national identity, proved to be ambivalent entities. Carneiro justified them as folklore through assessing their lineage as a new but evolving *folgado*, while Almeida denied their authenticity by pointing to the "popular" aspects of their cultural production. But if the conflict between Almeida and Carneiro had theoretical and ideological undercurrents, the view was different in Recife, where samba schools could appear as an invasive form.

The critique of Recife's schools as a foreign threat can be interpreted simply as expressions of regionalist protectionism, but that ignores their part in a more fundamental debate over the national ideals that Rio's samba schools were discursively constructed to embody. In particular, Brazil's ideal of racial egalitarianism could be regionally defined in terms of its manifestation during carnival. In Recife, the rejection of samba was due in part to its association as an import with homogenizing mass culture, as well as its being linked with a metropolitan, distant region. More problematically, it was viewed as an unnecessary trespasser in a milieu that had its own carnival expression of Brazil's essential racial / social democracy, the *frevo*. Not only was the *frevo* older than samba

(dating to the late nineteenth century, when military marches were sped up and given more ornate brass melodies), its associated dance had acquired a base of standard steps and sequences but still actively encouraged individual improvisation in the context of collective celebration. The dance was usually called *passo*, although the word *frevo* was first used to describe the “fervent,” “feverish,” “boiling” nature of the movements, which derived from the idiosyncratic gestures of practitioners of the Brazilian art form *capoeira*.²³⁸ *Frevo*’s connotations of racial democracy derive from the hybrid of music (predominantly European), the *passo* (Afro-Brazilian elements), and the lack of barriers in its performance. The spontaneity and individuality the dance allows have been interpreted as banishing hierarchy and embodying a sort of innate equality and unity. Writing in 1945, composer / folklorist Valdemar de Oliveira called it “The ultimate democratic, collective dance, in which can participate—without asking permission, without false modesty—rich and poor, black and white, young and old, in the robust but humble consciousness of leveling social barriers [*nivelamento social*] .”²³⁹

In this context, it becomes clear that in their arguments opposing the samba schools, Real, Freyre and other observers of local carnival shared the broader ideals of Brazilian racial egalitarianism that Rio’s carnival samba was supposed to represent, but they rejected the possibility for samba to function the same way in Recife where *frevo* already existed as a traditional regional expression of harmonious race relations. For Real, the samba schools provided a dangerous opportunity to indulge cosmopolitan middle-class values at the expense of the traditional “associative spirit” encouraged by

²³⁸ Oral history suggests the *capoeiristas* carried either wooden canes, broomsticks, or old umbrellas to help clear room for the bands, which would be the origin of the small, brightly-colored parasols carried by *frevo* dancers today.

²³⁹ Valdemar de Oliveira, *Frevo, Capoeira e “Passo,”* 122.

local carnival. The strongest argument against the samba schools' legitimacy that Real could make drew on nationalist discourses of Brazilian identity when she stated that Recife's schools actually subverted racial democracy in the city.²⁴⁰ That this tension over Rio's "foreign" culture was coming to a head in the early-mid 1960s (even before the dictatorship) hints at wider power shifts in Brazil. With the creation of Brasília in 1960, Rio was no longer Brazil's political center, and its longstanding cultural dominance was newly vulnerable to symbolic declarations of independence by proud regionalists—as well as to the expanding mass media networks that increasingly carried regional culture.

In both Rio and Recife, by the late 1930s, a strong state presence centralized, regulated, and judged official carnival culture. Whether that carnival culture was viewed as folklore or not in each site, market participation was viewed as tainting its integrity, and the continuity of "fixed" forms was encouraged. By the 1970s, as the dictatorship tightened its grip on civil society and the political process, a mood of gloom seemed to pervade Almeida's revised publication of his essay arguing against the folkloric nature of Rio's samba schools. His dour tone in the added material—"In Rio de Janeiro the street carnival, which once was marvelous, has died"—might be understood in terms of his own advancing age and a sense of nostalgia for the simpler celebrations and communal singing of his boyhood carnivals, an era before the growth of the parade spectacle and the intrusions of radio and television. But it certainly also reflects his disillusionment with the institutional folklore movement he had founded in 1947; a victim of constant budget restrictions, changing ideological contexts, academic battles, and the encroachments of

²⁴⁰ "It is in Recife's samba schools that one encounters the only traces of a certain separation of color and class" in all the carnival *folguedos* (Real, *O Folclore no Carnaval do Recife*, 53).

tourism, the CNFL had become an empty shell.²⁴¹ But Almeida's lament for carnivals past resonates with not just personal reminiscence, but political contemporaneity:

... I deeply regret that Rio's carnival is no longer a sung carnival. No one could go to the streets without singing, and the carnival was the city itself being sung. What is happening is that carnival has become officialized, it has become a tourist attraction, it grows in pomp; tourists full of dollars come, and movie actors appear in it, and ocean liners bring yet more tourists. We need to wake up.... The simple collectives of locals hoping to sing and revel now feel embarrassed in the face of such prodigious decoration, and they hide in the shadows, in the reflected light, becoming spectators, not actors.²⁴²

Carnival as something only to be watched from a distance, not participated in, presented a keen metaphor for Brazil's political circumstances at the time.²⁴³ Almeida suggested in the new essay that perhaps genuine participatory folklore was still to be found in Recife's carnival, in the form of *frevo*. But Salvador's carnival would soon emerge as a definitive contrast to those of both Rio and Recife. By 1970, the qualities of heavyhanded state intervention in Salvador's festival were downplayed, grassroots innovation was embraced, and free-market connections were welcomed, allowing its festival to appear uniquely popular and democratic in the context of Brazil's other main carnivals. It is to the rise of Salvador's carnival after 1950 that the dissertation now turns.

²⁴¹ From a high of 127 research documents the CNFL circulated among state organizations in 1956, the number had fallen to 17 in 1970.

²⁴² Almeida, "A Escola de samba no folclore," *Revista Brasileira de Folclore* 13 no. 88 (1974): 24.

²⁴³ In 1987, Haroldo Costa suggested that with the hardening of the dictatorship after 1968, when political parties, unions, and civil associations were closed and Brazilian citizens were prohibited from gathering in groups, the unlikely events of soccer games and carnival became democratic spaces (even if impromptu and informal) where people could unite to express support for their favorite players and openly criticize the opposition: "This is why the fans of each became more emphatic, even fanatical. And the samba schools and soccer teams ultimately lost the traditional neighborhood rootedness, the neighborhood face that each had carried before," taking on new national significance at the symbolic level. Eneida, *História do Carnaval Carioca*, 247.

Chapter 2

Salvador da Bahia:

From Anonymity to Innovation, the *Trio Elétrico* Re-Invents Local Carnival

The previous chapter examined a key era in which the carnivals of Rio de Janeiro and Recife, long viewed as Brazil's most traditional and authentic, expanded rapidly and confronted new challenges in how they engaged the state, the market, and conceptions of authenticity. The 1950s and 1960s were a time of considerable socioeconomic, political, and cultural shifts in Brazil. In the official carnivals of both Rio and Recife, a shared discursive hegemony based on valuing the maintenance of local tradition—carefully regulated by judges and other authorities linked to the municipality and state, and amplified through the diversifying products of the culture industry—helped ensure that the characteristic, “authentic” carnival cultures of both Rio and Recife remained proud symbols of national stability and continuity in a period wracked by transformations that were both wide and deep. The particular axis of contentions surrounding the samba schools showed how these groups became a locus of charged interactions between concepts of folklore and the modern culture industry, as well as the spheres of nation and region. By contrast, Salvador's carnival in the early 1950s was recognized as a potential tourist attraction, but due to its lack of acceptably distinctive characteristics, there was less centralization of carnival and less emphasis on a need for continuity. There was less public (city or state) funding of carnival culture than in Recife, and private enterprise was an active partner in staging carnival events and expanding the territorial space and

commercial reach of the festival. Rather than carnival, it was Salvador's extraordinary range of popular customs and festivals linked to Afro-Bahian cultural tradition that would attract more attention from researchers and Salvador's place marketers. In fact, ultimately, the innovations of a carnival based less on tradition than on local creativity, novelty, and experimentation provided a balance to official discourse regarding Afro-Bahian festivals and other tradition-based culture.

Folklorists, attuned to the dynamic nature of *folguedos* but interpreting the social significance of that dynamism differently, disagreed over carnival's folkloric integrity and the limits of appropriate change to traditional culture—as well as the impacts of direct intervention or competition on carnival *folguedos*. But ultimately, especially with the onset of dictatorship in 1964, a conservative definition of folklore amenable to the demands for predictability in the tourism industry gained in currency. But if Rio's samba schools were criticized by some for betraying their folkloric origins, in large part to meet the theatrical, spectacular requirements of an official carnival burdened with nominal national significance (also to exploit new economic advantages at the individual level), Recife's carnival *folguedos* could also be regarded as entrenching themselves in an enforced regionalized immutability, in which local versions of the samba schools were painted as destructive invaders to not merely carnival but local social relations. Each milieu was defined by allegiance to tradition, and the controlling efforts of the state to order, regulate, and stage carnival (for locals and tourists alike) as a reflection of patriotism and harmonious social relations.

Over time the defining characteristic of Salvador's carnival embraced by the state, the mass media, the tourism industry, and the culture producers themselves would come

to be based on novelty and innovation, rooted in Bahia's purported longstanding tendencies toward ethnic and racial hybridity—understood as an inherent capacity for recombination. The *trio elétrico* was (if perhaps not originally conceived, then later) imagined as a festive catalyst for transcending barriers between social classes, races, and musical styles. Similar to the discourse of Recife's *frevo*, which explicitly provided the foundation for the musical experiments of the *trio*'s founders, the *trio* was believed to facilitate the unity and collective happiness of all Bahians regardless of background and social standing, with no cultural rules or traditional standards to follow in the dance or other aspects of personal expression. In local parlance, one was said to “jump” (*pular*), not dance, behind the *trio*: “physical manifestations stimulated by sound.”¹ But unlike with *frevo*, the absence of established repertoires of dance steps, along with the innovations in musical performance and technology reflecting the interests and aesthetics of new generations of reveler-consumers, all added to the sense that the experience of freedom of expression was the norm in Salvador's carnival, a “big tent” of cultural practices. The *trio elétrico* introduced a jolt of innovation and contemporaneity to a festival characterized by diverse traditions and the lack of a distinct local identity. By the 1960s, the *trio* was embraced as the catalyst for greater mass participation in carnival and greater levels of “explosive enthusiasm... Parading one after another, the *cordões* and *blocos*, the samba schools, and of course the electrified groups, did not allow anyone to relax. They all contributed to the affirmation that Bahia possesses the greatest street carnival in the world! ...As in previous years, the presence of the *trios elétricos* was responsible for the greatest animation.”²

¹ Góes, *O País do Carnaval Elétrico*, 45-8.

² “Povo brincou nos clubes e nas ruas com animação,” *Estado da Bahia*, 28 February 1968.

Combined with the suspension of quotidian rules during carnival, the *trio elétrico* offered a form of celebration that was spontaneous, unstructured, and unrestricted according to cultural precedents. Of course there were still official regulations for public behavior, as there were for vehicular traffic or alcohol sales during the event; the freedom was cultural and symbolic, and it should be conceived as a sort of shared, ritualized performance of democracy. As time passed the carnival of the *trio elétrico* was coalescing as a space for the instinctual pursuit and realization of freedom, a sort of natural human reflex towards liberty and gratification, even (or especially) in the depths of military dictatorship: as Caetano Veloso would sing in 1969, “behind the *trio elétrico*, only the dead would not follow along” (*atrás do trio elétrico / Só não vai quem já morreu*).³ The contemporariness of the festivity as a shared experience of liberty as a current event distinguished it from other Brazilian carnivals. From both the bottom up and the top down, diverse participants were constructing Salvador’s carnival in topical dialogue with the nation’s political and socioeconomic situation.

From the official perspective, the construct of carnival as a cultural performance of democracies certainly had a racial component. This was a fundamental aspect of how Brazilians analyzed and justified national carnival in general since the 1940s, and it would receive a new inflection in Salvador with the participation of Afro-Brazilian groups alongside the ostensibly colorblind *trios elétricos*. By the 1980s, the vocalists or featured musicians aboard the *trios* were still largely white (although supporting musicians such as drummers or percussionists were often Afro-Bahian). And with many more *afoxés* and *blocos afros* sharing the streets with *trios*, conflicts were inevitable as the sonic power of the *trios*’ amplification systems could smother the quieter (or, more

³ Caetano Veloso, “Atrás do Trio Elétrico,” on the 1969 LP *Álbum Branco*.

accurately, less loud) groups of Afro-Bahian percussionists, leading to confusion and tension. Armandinho recalls that starting in the 1970s the Trio Elétrico Dodô and Osmar always made it a point to stop playing when they intersected with the African-inspired groups,⁴ but not all *trios* maintained that custom of courtesy. Fights were known to break out on the street over the symbolism of an electrified “white” carnival band and its followers overwhelming an Afro-Bahian ensemble celebrating African cultural tradition.

But there was also a political undertone of carnival as a celebration and expression of democracy in the freedom to participate according to individual choice unencumbered by the strict orthodoxies of tradition (as in Recife) or relations of spectatorship (as in Rio’s case). Arguably, it was as much the contemporary social attitude responding positively to innovation and the power of collectivity in carnival—the idea of carnival as a space where everyone was equal and had a voice—that helped pave the way for the creation of the *blocos afro* with the racially politicized Ilê Aiyê in 1974 as it was the oft-cited legacy of *afoxés* and Afro-Bahian carnival groups in Salvador.⁵ Ilê Aiyê came from a neighborhood called Liberdade or Liberty, once a redoubt of escaped slaves in Salvador’s colonial era; their constant references to this place and its history in their music solidified even further the discursive connections between liberty, freedom from repression, equality, and carnival itself. Most secondary sources state that the *bloco* was designed in part as a rejection of the local samba schools’ deference to traditional racial stereotypes, perhaps drawing philosophically sympathetic members from two

⁴ *Caminhão da Alegria – 60 Anos de Trio Elétrico* (TV Educadora / Instituto de Radiodifusão Educativa da Bahia [IRDEB], 2010. Armandinho said the band would play a short fanfare to the *afoxé* or *bloco afro* consisting of a few chords lightly strummed, and then only start to play again once the other group and all its revelers had passed.

⁵ The most influential and most-cited analysis of the critical legacy of Salvador carnival’s 1900-era Afro-Bahian carnival groups in the “reAfricanization” of the 1970s is in Risério, *Carnaval Ijexá*.

existing samba schools in the neighborhood, although a period interview with the founder suggests the origins of the group were rather more prosaic.⁶

The rise of Salvador's carnival as a unique national embodiment of festive democracy in a milieu marked by political and economic constraint thus had both internal and external ramifications for the city's identity. All of these concerns fed into the assertion in 1973 by Antonio de Castro Tourinho, director of Salvador's metropolitan tourism agency Sutursa, that the local samba schools should be encouraged to "disappear" from carnival: "Our festival is driven by complete popular participation, and the samba schools here are nothing more than a poor imitation of Rio's... Many *cariocas* come to Salvador to enjoy carnival on the streets, because they are accustomed to merely paying to watch the schools parade, like spectators at the theater. Here no, the people participate and really enjoy themselves."⁷ Even earlier, before he took that stand on the samba schools, Tourinho made it a point to thank the *trios elétrico* for helping make Salvador's carnival "a festival characterized by the direct participation of the people, unlike the painful spectacle Rio's parades have become."⁸ This was during a period when reports on Rio's carnival carried in Salvador's papers stressed that its spectacular parades and exclusive private clubs were a "reason for sadness among Brazilians... Each year, the humble people have less space to play, to celebrate, and live in happiness for the four

⁶ "Ilê Aiyê", um bloco de raça aberto a gente de qualquer cor," *Jornal da Bahia*, 24 February 1979. Group founder Antônio Carlos dos Santos ("Vovô") said in an interview that he and some friends had grown bored with joining other *blocos*, wearing other groups' costumes, and they decided to start their own. While discussing the idea, "We looked around and noticed that all of us were black. We decided to do something different based around that, but nothing special. We went back to the African connections through *candomblé*." Their first parade was in 1975, with 120 people, and the public response in the majority black, poor Liberdade neighborhood concretized the *bloco* as a locus of contemporary black cultural pride: "In the beginning we weren't conscious of that." But In a 2003 interview in Ilê Aiyê's newsletter, *O Mondo*, Vovô asserted that the new *bloco* was inspired by the American black movement including associated popular music. "Vovô falou: O Ilê Aiyê sempre foi a grande paixão da negritude," *O Mondo* 19, February 2003.

⁷ "Sutursa é contra as escolas de samba no carnaval de Salvador," *A Tarde* (Salvador), 20 February 1973.

⁸ "Tourinho satisfeito: 'o carnaval baiano de 68 foi um dos mais animados'" and "Festa é do povo," *Estado da Bahia*, 29 February 1968.

days of the event. Carnival will wind up the domain of the wealthy and the tourists when it should belong to the people.”⁹ As in Recife, the presence of samba schools in Salvador modeled on those of Rio became controversial among those hoping to articulate and protect the true identity of local carnival, although the results would be different: Salvador’s schools did not expand into middle-class acceptance, but faded away.

The Trio Elétrico and the Carnival of Popular Participation

Clearly, Salvador’s carnival was developing along discursive lines of popular involvement and “democracy” in different terms from Rio’s samba-school based official parade, and from Recife’s celebration of local folklore. Fundamental to this development was the consolidation among diverse actors of a framing vision of organic, grassroots, unstructured popular participation in a festivity in which the state played a lesser role than in other carnivals, and that also incorporated the general discourse of Brazilian carnival’s freedoms and personal satisfactions into broader performative rhetorics of both democracy and individuality (including the consumption of capitalized carnival products and experiences). This was possible in large part for the following reasons, which this chapter will elaborate: folklorists were never particularly interested in Salvador’s carnival, unlike in Rio and Recife, and the development of Salvador’s tourism industry was based on a consolidation of an innovative carnival as well as a local “folklore” repertoire somewhat divergent from the CNFL’s priorities. Salvador’s carnival culture had no clearly defined unique traits or musical forms of its own up to the 1950s, other than hierarchies expressed in the duality of elite private clubs and diverse street culture. While African-derived *afoxés* and other groups have long fluctuated through Salvador’s

⁹ “Carnaval de 1970,” *Diário de Notícias*, 13 February 1970.

modern carnival, their periods of ascension were the 1890s and after 1980.¹⁰ The particular musical identity of Salvador emerging from the new carnival groups was favorable to local political interests during, and outliving, the dictatorship, as well as to the interests of the local tourism industry; and the links between Brazil's professionalizing music industry (and the country's wider mass-mediated celebrity culture) and Salvador's carnival were both more intimate and less controversial in the 1970s and later than either in Rio de Janeiro or Recife.

Fundamental to the "nationalization" of Salvador's carnival music by the 1970s were two musicians who had been born in Bahia but maintained established recording and performing careers based in Rio de Janeiro outside of carnival—Caetano Veloso (1942 -) and Moraes Moreira (1947 -). Also notable was the involvement of *trio* co-inventor Osmar Macedo's son Armando (1953 -), better known as Armandinho, who had developed a national profile as a gifted guitarist / mandolinist as a teenager, often performing shows and festivals in Rio and São Paulo. A critically-acclaimed recording career followed, starting with his first solo LP in 1970. Bringing his celebrity status with him, he would integrate definitively in the Trio Elétrico Dodô & Osmar in 1974 during the preparations for the *trio*'s anniversary parade, and is still today its star instrumentalist.

This intersection of local carnival with the music business was not nearly as controversial in Salvador as it was in Rio, and the two spheres fed off each other, spinning off record albums by the 1960s as well as *micaretas* or "*carnavais fora da época*," off-season carnival shows in Bahia's interior (and even in other states) that proved highly lucrative for musicians and the private interests managing the events. In

¹⁰ Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won*, chapter 6: "The Politics of Culture in Salvador;" Risério, *Carnaval Ijexá*.

that sense, as the next chapter will explore for the 1970s through the 1990s, Salvador's carnival and the country's national mass culture, particularly music but also television shows and other products, developed in synchrony and in dialogue. Carnival itself would be marketed as a unique experience of collective and personal gratification, as in a 2000 piece in *ViverBahia*, the city's tourism magazine, advertising the commemoration of fifty years of the *trio elétrico*: "Natives, tourists, individuals of all tribes, all colors and creeds, making up the great waves of people given over to blessed (*abençoada*) exuberance and celebrating together the happiness of being alive. Behind a *trio elétrico*, thousands of people, thousands of volts of pleasure."¹¹ This is only slightly more fulgent in its appeal than a 1974 piece in a local newspaper asserting "If you see Dodô and Osmar's *trio* passing by, drop everything and join along, because right there is the origin of all the gaiety of Bahian carnival... their invention led to hundreds of others like it, which have come to characterize Bahian carnival as the most animated of the entire world."¹²

This chapter now proceeds to explore the nature of Salvador's socioeconomic and cultural scene regarding folklore and carnival just prior to the appearance of the *trio elétrico* in 1951's carnival and proceeds until the early 1970s, focusing principally on developments within the city itself. The chapter's periodization of roughly 1950-1974 is similar to the periodization of the chapter on Recife and Rio de Janeiro. These were key years in Brazil's principal cities for the discursive consolidations of local legacies of carnival culture within the often divergent frameworks of folklore, tourism, national identity, and culture industry. 1974 also saw Dodô and Osmar's return to carnival and the preparations for their twenty-fifth anniversary celebration of the *trio* the next year. This

¹¹ "Caros leitores," *ViverBahia* vol. 1 no. 5 (2000), 3.

¹² "Batam palmas e agradeçam ao primeiro Trio Elétrico," *Diario de Notícias*, 22 February 1974.

periodization also pivots on the gradual political decompression in the dictatorship initiated in 1974-5 by president Geisel, easing censorship and surveillance allowing for more active expression of discontent with the military regime across civil society (including rallies, marches, concerts, and other collective manifestations), and even within the military itself. This was echoed in the also gradual but emphatic symbolic assertion of Salvador's carnival by city boosters (from the tourism department to *trio* musicians) as a sort of regional source of the nation's democratic wellsprings. Finally, reflecting the growth of local carnival in terms of both the scale of participation and of the commercial potential of the event as spectacle, in December of 1975 the city decided for the coming festival to move its pay-per-use spectator bleachers (and the judging platform for evaluating the groups participating in competitions) away from the Praça Municipal to the longer Rua Chile, where they could be set up on both sides of the street and their capacity enlarged.¹³

Unlike in the cases of period specialists dealing with carnival in Rio and Recife, no extensive archives of primary documents exist in Salvador. There has customarily been less of a commitment to institutional memory of festival culture in Salvador, and even the coordinator of the city's first Carnival Executive Group in 1984, created to centralize carnival organization, recalled that "When we began historical research into past carnivals, we discovered there was nothing to be consulted. The state tourism agency had bits of information dispersed here and there, and based on city hall's sources it seems

¹³ "Arquibancadas, uma ameaça ao carnaval da Rua Chile," *A Tarde* (Salvador), - December 1975. This followed their dislocation in 1973 to the municipal square from the Praça da Sé, the end of the parade route and their traditional home; as with the 1975 move and expansion of the bleachers, this also generated angry responses in the press ("Palanque será mesmo na Praça Municipal," *Diário de Notícias*, 27 February 1973). But the dispute over bleachers reveals tension in how Salvador's carnival was growing; the successful push to increase tourism during carnival was risking making it more of a spectacle, which city boosters associated disparagingly with Rio de Janeiro.

carnival had never existed in Salvador.”¹⁴ Given the eclectic nature of sources for cultural history in Salvador in general, a range of material will be utilized to examine the emergence of the *trio elétrico* as both carnival phenomenon and engine of commerce within the arc of the military dictatorship, the establishment of Salvador’s tourism industry and its relations to folklore and tradition, the professionalization of the carnival industry, and the entrenching carnivalization of Salvador’s cultural identity itself.

Afro-Bahia and Salvador’s Carnival: Distinct Paths from Folklore to Tourism

The carnival of Salvador generally did not attract the systematic attention of folklorists at the national or local level. However, the folkloric importance of Bahia to Brazil as a whole (and more especially Brazil’s and Bahia’s elites) in the twentieth century has been a constant theme in the historiography; although those scholarly debates are diverse and require careful consideration, it is true that Bahia’s general reputation for folkloric richness was endorsed by mid-century professional folklorists. Yet that position should be distinguished from narrower interests within Bahia and principally the capital city of Salvador on local Afro-Brazilian culture, which—particularly in the contexts of politics, culture management, and tourism, came to emphasize a folkloric identity for Afro-Bahia beyond what the CNFL itself pursued.

Early in the national consolidation of the CNFL, Renato Almeida—himself a Bahian, as was Edison Carneiro—expressed the significance of Bahia to the folklore movement when he wrote a congratulatory telegram to new state sub-commission director Antonio Viana: “No other folkloric commemoration could be closer to my own heart than the establishment of this sub-commission. Success to your works in the study

¹⁴ Eliana Maria Bittencourt Dumê, “O Gerenciamento do Carnaval,” *Bahia Análise & Dados* vol. 5 #4 March 1996.

of folklore of our beloved Bahia.”¹⁵ Soon after, Almeida gave a speech at the Bahian History Congress praising the common embrace of folklore across Bahian society; he declared, “I don’t know of any other place in Brazil where the ascension of folkloric phenomena from the folk to higher levels of society has been more intense. The reason must be the traditional spirit of the people, and their communicative character that did not impose marked differences among social classes.” He also remarked on the religiosity of Bahians, arguing that a shared religious foundation (he does not specify, but presumably refers to Catholicism with or without Afro-Brazilian inflections) was propitious for folklore because “many popular traditions derive from the Christmas *folgado* cycle and the religious calendar.”¹⁶ Elsewhere, he expanded: Bahia was a “university of folklore... it is not simply the many different *folgados*, the stories, the songs and dances. No, the Bahian cultivates folklore in his daily life, developing it in a thousand ways, in endless variations... the production of folklore is second nature to the Bahian people.”¹⁷

While Almeida and various other folklorists expressed interest in Bahia’s unique Afro-Brazilian culture (from cuisine and religious practices to *samba de roda* and *capoeira*), the mass culture being produced in Rio’s recording studios increasingly rhetorically celebrated these manifestations as pleasantly exotic and nostalgic symbols of traditional Brazilian identity and the Brazilian experience.¹⁸ Although this trend received

¹⁵ Telegram from Renato Almeida to Antonio Viana, 23 August 1948 (CNFCP DA, Comissões Estaduais de Folclore\Bahia\expedidas – 1948 a 1952). Bahia’s state sub-commission was formally instituted the day before.

¹⁶ Renato Almeida, “O Folclore na Sociedade Baiana.”

¹⁷ Renato Almeida, “Folclore Baiano,” *Revista Brasileira de Folclore*, ano XII #35, January / April 1973. The speech appears to date to 1949.

¹⁸ In *A Presença da Bahia na Música Popular Brasileira* (Brasília: MusiMed, 1990), a compilation of references to Bahia in Brazilian popular music from the 1930s to the early 1960s, Luiz Americo Lisboa Junior shows that subjects from *candomblé* and the *orixás* (“Mandei Fazer um Patuá,” Raimundo Olavo and Norberto Martins, 1955; “Visite o Terreiro,” Edgar Ferreira, 1958) to *samba de umbigada* (“A Primeira Umbigada,” Manezinho Araújo & Fernando Lobo, 1951) were celebrated in popular song.

a boost from Dorival Caymmi's successes with Carmen Miranda in the late 1930s, it predates his work¹⁹ and may derive at least in part from the prominence of Afro-Bahian migrants in Rio de Janeiro's fervent musical scene in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.²⁰ Afro-Bahian artefacts and performances were occasionally incorporated into national folklore expositions—including a 1950 "Season of Typical Brazilian Festivals and Dances in Rio de Janeiro" (suggested by city councilmen including musician Ari Barroso) that featured "Bahian '*capoeira*' and '*candomblés*.'" ²¹ At another Rio event in 1951, Bahia was represented by a *capoeira* demonstration alongside "characteristic" baskets, cloth dolls, pottery, jewelry, and other handicrafts.²² Such exhibits were exciting events for curious local publics.²³ In 1957, when Salvador hosted the third national folklore congress, local Afro-Brazilian culture provided part of the entertainment, to include presentations of *capoeira* and samba, "and a demonstration of rhythms associated with the *orixás* for all the African nations with cults in Bahia,

¹⁹ For instance, "O Vatapá" (unknown author, +/- 1910); "Samba da Boa Terra" (J. Evangelista, 1931).

²⁰ Nei Lopes, *O Negro no Rio de Janeiro e sua Tradição Musical* (Rio de Janeiro: Pallas, 1992), 7-10.

²¹ "Temporada de Festas e Danças Típicas Brasileiras," Boletim 34 (CNFCP DA, CNFL: BB-34, September 1950). The spatialization of "typical" culture in this series was by city (Recife—*frevo*s and *maracatus*), by state (Minas Gerais—*congadas*), and region (northeastern *cavalhadas*), although the "Parade of Samba Schools and *Ranchos*" was not constrained to a particular place, suggesting that they were both seen as truly national in scope.

²² Letter from Renato Almeida to Antonio Viana, 16 May 1951. CNFCP DA, CNFL: Comissões Estaduais de Folclore\Bahia\expedidas – 1948 a 1952. Almeida suggests Viana go to the popular markets around Salvador to buy the artefacts, and he had a budget—the items were sent back from the exposition with a declared insurance value of 5,000 *cruzeiros*.

²³ As a form of patriotic educational entertainment for the public, these events represented a somewhat less elite version of the Cultural Caravan initiated by the Ministry of Education and Culture in 1964 ("Caravana Cultural do MEC visitará cidades Bahianas," *A Tarde* [Salvador], 4 January 1964). The Caravan, including a stage actor, ballet dancer, and classical vocalists, also involved traveling displays of visual art, and lectures in culture and education to be read over local airwaves. It was intended to "integrate populations at the margins of the national Rio-Bahia highway into the national cultural process."

played on *atabaques* [traditional African drums].”²⁴ Congress members were treated by city hall to a lunch of Afro-Bahian cuisine at the Lagoa do Abaeté Restaurant.²⁵

However, Afro-Bahian culture did not form part of any systematic or continued research program among the top ranks of the folklore movement proper, although affiliated researchers did publish several full-length works.²⁶ Jocélio Teles dos Santos, a critic of the discursive construction of Afro-Bahian culture as “folklore,” nonetheless correctly leaves folklorists themselves off his list of entities responsible for consecrating “*candomblé*, *capoeira*, and Afro-Bahian cuisine” as a touristic “trademark of Bahia” by the late 1960s.²⁷ If the CNFL deployed these practices as markers of Bahian identity in the tapestries of 1950s national folklore expositions, they seem to have been more going along with preexisting notions in Brazil than actively justifying the association through their own research (recall that most of Carneiro’s work in Afro-Bahian culture was in the 1930s and 1940s). Hence Renato Almeida’s tone in a 1952 letter to Guilherme Santos Neves on scheduling the upcoming 1953 Bahia Folklore Week: “We could take advantage of the Bonfim cycle, and hold it in January.”²⁸

²⁴ “III Congresso Brasileiro de Folclore,” bol. 114, May 1957 (CNFCP DA, CNFL: 1957\Boletins 110-121).

²⁵ “III Congresso Brasileiro de Folclore: Relatório geral do Congresso apresentado por Dante de Laytano, Relator.”

²⁶ Since the early CNFL overlaps with his period of study, Ickes (“Salvador’s Transformist Hegemony”) mentions Edison Carneiro, *Candomblés da Bahia* (Salvador: Secretaria de Educação e Saúde, 1948); José Lima, *A Festa de Egun e outros ensaios: Resas, meisinhas, mandingas, e mandingueiros da Bahia* (Rio de Janeiro, 1955); Manuel Querino, *A Raça Africana e seus costumes* (Salvador, 1955). One could also mention Hildegardes Viana, *A cozinha baiana, seus folclores, suas receitas* (Salvador: Fundação Gonçalo Muniz, 1955). Going back a bit earlier, the 1937 II Afro-Brazilian Congress, co-organized by Carneiro and held in Salvador, influenced the subsequent course of Afro-Bahian studies and has recently become a subject of scholarly analysis (Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won*; Romo, *Brazil’s Living Museum*; Antonio Jorge Victor dos Santos, “Raízes e Traições da Música Afro-Carnavalesca Contemporânea”).

²⁷ He cites the media, public entities, and private enterprise. Jocélio Teles dos Santos, *O poder da cultura e a cultura no poder: A disputa simbólica da herança cultural negra no Brasil* (Salvador: Edufba, 2005), 65.

²⁸ He considered it “convenient” to coordinate the folklore weeks with other events, so in 1955 the Sergipe week would center on the centenary of the city of Aracaju. Letter dated 22 October 1952 (CNF\Assuntos Gerais\expedidias - 1947 a 1959).

By the early 1970s, the folklore movement was a shadow of its former self, and the instrumental use of the rhetoric of “folklore” by Bahian elites to constrain the meanings of Afro-Bahian culture²⁹ had far more to do with local hegemony than the field of folklore proper (the growing emphasis on tourism as a source of economic development in the state provided a new matrix of discourses, symbols, incentives, and policies to strengthen what Ickes describes as “Savador’s transformist hegemony” respecting Afro-Bahians between 1930 and 1950). Another element influencing the widening focus on Afro-Bahian culture locally was the Center of Afro-Oriental Studies (CEAO, Centro de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros), created in 1959 through the Federal University of Bahia in part to explore cultural links between Brazil and Africa.³⁰

The most consistent concern of the CNFL with respect to Bahian folklore, as it appears in the archives in Rio de Janeiro and in media reporting, focused on *artesanato* or popular artwork from around the state. When the state sub-commission succeeded in 1952 in persuading the state government to sign the CNFL’s *convênio* promising to support folklore research and encourage local *folguedos*, director Viana in his speech emphasized the “protection of folk handicrafts.”³¹ In the mid-1950s, professor Carlos José Costa Pereira of the Bahia state folklore sub-commission was researching and classifying the state’s popular art; he devised a highly detailed four-page questionnaire or research form (encompassing aspects of history, sociology, and economy in studying the

²⁹ In “Afro-Brazilians and Cultural Policy in Bahia,” (122-3), Jocélio Teles dos Santos condemns “The Brazilian state’s use of folklore to express or characterize basic elements of Brazilian culture.” In the early 1970s, the Centro Folclórico da Bahia was advertising in the state’s new tourism magazine, *ViverBahia*; live attractions included four different folklore groups presenting stylized Afro-Brazilian presentations of *capoeira*, *samba de roda*, and “African dances” (*ViverBahia* vol. 4, February 1974, 18).

³⁰ A 1963 article in *A Tarde* on Afro-Brazilian folklore in Dahomey reflects this interest and was republished as a CNFL document (“Folclore Afro-Brasileiro de Volta ao Daomé,” #494, 04 April 1963).

³¹ “A Comissão de Folclore denuncia uma superstição perigosa,” *A Tarde* (Salvador), 17 January 1952. Almeida visited Bahia for the signing of the *convênio* and made a public presentation on Bahian folclore (“O folclore na Bahia: A conferência do Sr. Renato Almeida,” *A Tarde* [Salvador], 21 January 1952).

items' production and use) to be adopted by folklorists around the country.³² A 1956 CNFL bulletin calls attention to Costa Pereira's two books on folk art from around the state, especially the Recôncavo, and his interests clearly involved not just studying *artesanato* but stimulating and rationalizing its production as a source of development.³³

Other Bahian folklorists submitted research on the ant-eater in national folklore, local burial practices among the poor, and practices and beliefs surrounding the evil eye.³⁴ Folklorists also wrote on the July 2 festivities (*Dois de julho*, a popular civic festival in the state based on the routing of Portuguese troops from Bahia in 1823), which was also a main emphasis of the Bahia state subcommission when it hosted the third national folklore congress in Salvador during the first week of July 1957.³⁵ Additionally they explored the folklore of rum,³⁶ of São Cosme and Damião,³⁷ of mollusks,³⁸ and of crabs.³⁹ They were briefly distracted in the early 1950s by the appearance of a macabre

³² "Questionário sobre as principais manifestações do artesanato e da arte-popular no estado, organizado pelo prof. Costa Pereira," CNFL Doc. 364 de 13 March 1957 (CNFCP DA, Ibccc/Cnfl/Documentos 362-388 1957).

³³ The bulletin (#108, November 1956) draws attention to *Artesanato e arte-popular no sertão Bahiano* and an earlier book, *Síntese de um programa para organização e desenvolvimento do artesanato na Bahia*. The latter work appears to emphasize a practical approach to protecting popular traditions by carefully integrating them into broader economies of production and commerce; the forward was written by the President of Economic Planning of the State of Bahia, "who is motivated to support and defend folkloric handicrafts and home-based industry" (CNFCP DA: Cnfl/Documentos\1956\Boletins 98-109). See also reference in a Bulletin (#126, 1958) to his work on "research, planning, and training" in handicraft production.

³⁴ "O Tamanduá no Folclore Nacional, comunicação feita à CNFL por Luis R. de Almeida, da Comissão Bahiana de Folclore," CNFL Doc. 221 de 14 February 1951, and "Achegas ao Folclore Bahiano, comunicação feita por Carlos Alberto de Carvalho, da Comissão Bahiana de Folclore," CNFL, Doc 238, de 7 November 1951 (CNFCP DA, Ibccc/Cnfl/Documentos \1951\Documentos 216-242); Hildegardes Viana, "Olhado e Outras Coisas," CNFL Doc. 298 de 27 August 1954 (CNFCP DA, Ibccc/Cnfl/ 1954\Documentos 287-302).

³⁵ "III Congresso Brasileiro de Folclore: Relatório geral do Congresso apresentado por Dante de Laytano, Relator," CNFL Doc. 384 de 4 November 1957 (CNFCP DA, Ibccc/Cnfl/Documentos 362-388 1957).

³⁶ José Calazans (member and later director of the Bahia state sub-commission), "Cachaça, Fonte Inspiradora," *Caderno da Bahia*, April 1950; "Genealogia da Cachaça," in the folklore section of *Correio Paulistano* (São Paulo), 27 May 1951.

³⁷ "São Cosme e Damião na Bahia," José de Souza, Ibccc/Cnfl/Doc. 517 de 7/1/65 (CNFCP DA: CNFL 1965\Documentos 517-528).

³⁸ "Os moluscos e o nosso folclore," *A Tarde* (Salvador), 26 January 1952.

³⁹ "O carangueijo e o sirí em nosso folclore," *A Tarde* (Salvador), 19 January 1952.

legend in rural Bahian towns involving a black vampire who stole little children to offer to the Devil for ritualistic sacrifice,⁴⁰ and later in the decade, public fear of apocalypse also in small towns linked to the appearance of a comet.⁴¹ A 1956 CNFL document providing an account of the Salvador performance of a *maculelê*⁴² group from the Bahian interior was circulated, although notably it was written not by anyone in the Bahia state subcommission but by Gracita da Miranda of the São Paulo subcommission.

Nor did Salvador's carnival culture receive significant attention from folklorists. The single most substantial analysis of Salvador's carnival by reserachers affiliated with the Bahia state sub-commission in this period was historical in nature. Hildegardes Viana, daughter of the state sub-commission's first director and an active folklorist and journalist in her own right, published an essay in the CNFL's *Revista Brasileira de Folclore* in 1965 describing not current issues but the transition away from messy, combative *entrudo* traditions and the rise of Salvador's elite carnival clubs in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁴³ She also wrote regular columns on carnival for Salvador's *A Tarde* newspaper in the late 1960s, but with few exceptions these overwhelmingly focused on historical subjects as well.

⁴⁰ "A Comissão de Folclore denuncia uma superstição perigosa;" and a month later in a CNFL document, "Uma lenda na Bahia," Doc. 249, 12 February 1952 (CNFCP DA: CNFL\1952\Documentos 243-271).

⁴¹ "Notas diversas," BB-107 October 1958 (CNFCP DA: Documentos\1956\Boletins 98-109).

⁴² The *maculelê*, best known as a vigorous group dance performed by men who "fight" in stylized form with sticks or machetes, is of uncertain provenience but has been explained as "likely African in origin, merging with the slave-society and sugar culture of Santo Amaro as well as the religious festivals of the Bahian Recôncavo around three hundred years ago." Emília Biancardi, *Raízes Musicais da Bahia* (Salvador: Omar G. / Secretary of Culture and Tourism, 2000), 57. Biancardi's work with *maculelê* as a theater presentation and source of long-play recordings in the 1960s will be cited in chapter four.

⁴³ Hildegardes Viana, "Do entrudo ao carnaval na Bahia," *Revista Brasileira de Folclore* 13, September-December 1965.

Edison Carneiro, in an early essay possibly written in 1940,⁴⁴ praised what he saw as the principal distinguishing feature of Bahian carnival, the *caretas* (masquerade, using mask or disguise, usually to cross-dress or appear as infants, doctors, or Hollywood archetypes), and criticized the municipal rules prohibiting their use after six in the evening. He asserted that when the masks come off, carnival in Salvador “cannot be distinguished from any other carnival.” Although it is often assumed that security measures such as mandatory removal of masks as darkness neared were a phenomenon of carnival in the tense war years, this regulation continued at least into the early 1950s⁴⁵ and reappeared sporadically during the dictatorship’s early phase. The irony is that, according to Viana, in the 1860s city authorities had been so desperate to encourage the public to move away from the *entrudo* that they began distributing masks for free to encourage European-style street festivities, followed by several years of artificially inexpensive masks at public prices subsidized by the city and parish commissions.⁴⁶

Góes wrote that with the appearance of the *trio elétrico*, “the *caretas* starting disappearing from Salvador’s street carnival, it being rare to encounter this form, in bygone days so popular.”⁴⁷ But the disappearance seems gradual. In 1959, as part of its investment in carnival, the Lojas Duas Americanas on Rua Chile offered a small cash award of 50 *cruzeiros* to “each and every *mascarado* who appears on the street on Saturday”—an incentive for the public to continue the practice (and also, perhaps, for

⁴⁴ Carneiro, “Caretas da Bahia,” CNFCP DA: Arquivo Edison Carneiro, Documentos\Textos\Caretas da Bahia. Visible on a page of the essay is a typed date that appears to be 1940, although it has been marked through with black ink.

⁴⁵ This was specified in “Proibida a vendagem de bebidas alcoólicas a partir de hoje: As instruções da policia para o carnaval,” *A Tarde* (Salvador), 22 February 1952.

⁴⁶ Viana, “Do *entrudo* ao carnaval na Bahia.” Giving away masks was attempted after official prohibitions on selling the wax balls thrown in the *entrudo*, and prohibitions on throwing the balls, were widely ignored.

⁴⁷ Góes, *O País do Carnaval Elétrico*, 21.

revelers to purchase their mask- and costume-making supplies at the store).⁴⁸ If Salvador's authorities did impose a prohibition of masks during the dictatorship—as Félix and Nery state, without specifying precisely when⁴⁹—the masks came back. By 1968, wrote a journalist, “The impression of this reporter, based in the area of Rua Chile and Avenida Sete de Setembro, was that never has Bahian carnival seen so many masks.”⁵⁰ In 1969, the “peculiar and original animation” provided by the *mascarados* entertained crowds watching their competition sponsored by the city's tourism department—this in a year when only one *trio elétrico* participated in carnival, since most of the others had accepted lucrative contracts to perform in other Bahian towns.⁵¹

At least as late as 1973's carnival, there was still a category for *caretas* or *mascarados* who wished to participate in carnival contests (under two categories, “luxury” or the implied lesser “spirited / original”).⁵² In 1976, iconoclastic Bahian ethnologist / folklorist Waldenor Rêgo noted their waning use and argued that it was the popularity of the individual, structured carnival *blocos* formed around *trio elétricos*, with their requirement of a standard outfit among associated revelers (later referred to as a *mortalha*), that was taking the public away from this home-made form of costume in which the “original, creative, spontaneous, or critical of politics and of the cost of living” had been valued aesthetics.⁵³ His analysis of what was essentially folklore at risk was made right at the cusp of the looming era of privatization on the street around business-minded *trios* in which the “popular participation” of Salvador's carnival would become a

⁴⁸ “Carnaval será de 4 dias,” *A Tarde* (Salvador), 04 February 1959.

⁴⁹ Félix and Nery, *Bahia, Carnaval* (Salvador: ?, 1993), 53.

⁵⁰ “Carnaval Bahiano de 68 superou expectativas,” *Estado da Bahia*, 28 February 1968.

⁵¹ “Mascarados,” *Estado da Bahia*, 19 February 1969.

⁵² “SUTURSA divulga programa oficial para o carnaval,” *A Tarde* (Salvador), 22 February 1973.

⁵³ “Momento de rei ou vagabundo,” *VivaBahia* vol. 29, February 1976, 7.

euphemism for the expression of personal choice and affinity through market-based consumption of carnival attractions and experiences. Indeed, Rêgo attributed the slow death of the home-made *careta* to “Brazil’s processes of socio-economic development.”

We can perhaps affirm the date of Carneiro’s earlier, ambiguously-dated carnival essay through his reference to Salvador’s *afoxés*. Lamenting the absence of the famous turn-of-the-century *afoxés* such as Embaixada Africana and Pândegos de África, he mentions the presence of “Ó o Ôtúm, Obá de África, a large group of blacks dressed principally in breeches and turbans of blue and red satin, whose African songs and percussion of rattles and bells give an idea of the past splendor of the Carnaval of the blacks of Bahia.” Lack of any mention of the famous *afoxé* Filhos de Gandhi, which had emerged in Salvador in 1949, and their notoriety and influence in an attempt to restore the past glory of the *afoxé* tradition in a form inspired by the visual esthetic (*viz* Hollywood) and non-violent philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi,⁵⁴ suggests the piece was written before they formed. Ickes, through his research of local periodicals, finds no reason to doubt the oral history that Filhos de Gandhi themselves initiated the creation of an official category for *afoxé* in Salvador’s carnival by the early 1950s.⁵⁵ However, it is unclear how consistently the term *afoxé* was used in the early years: a 1956 report of competition results submitted by Waldemar Angelim, Toursim Director, placed the victorious Filhos de Gandhi and Filhos de Obá in a category called “*cordões afro-brasileiros*,”⁵⁶ while the word *afoché* appears instead of this term in 1959.⁵⁷ And a 1961

⁵⁴ The “golden age” of Bahian *afoxés* is explored in Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won*, chapter 6. Carneiro later provided an historical analysis of the *afoxés* up to Filhos de Gandhi in “Afoxé da Bahia” (*Folguedos Tradicionais*). Ickes (“Salvador’s Transformist Hegemony,” 176-180) describes how they interacted with carnival licensing authorities in the late 1940s.

⁵⁵ Ickes, “Salvador’s Transformist Hegemony,” 180.

⁵⁶ “Prefeitura Municipal de Salvador: Concursos carnavalescos,” *A Tarde* (Salvador), 20 February 1956.

list of participants in the carnival parade includes in “*Pequenos Clubes*” the Mercadores de Bagdad and Filhos de Gandhi, while “*Afoxés*” contains six groups including Angola, Filhos do Obá, and Filhos do Terreiro.⁵⁸ This might reflect an editorial error, or, given that groups had to apply and be licensed within a certain category, perhaps there are other reasons for what appears an arbitrary division.⁵⁹ Later, a 1970 article attempted to explain the basic differences between samba schools, *afoxés*, and *batucadas*, noting that “some folklorists suggest that competitions have lead to disfigurations of traditional forms.”⁶⁰

Beginning in 1952 an offshoot of the Filhos de Gandhi in Rio de Janeiro, started by residents and former group members who had migrated from Salvador, was participating in Rio’s carnival.⁶¹ Still, in Salvador, the *afoxé*’s carnival presence remained mostly off the radar of local media reporting until they were recuperated into official tourism strategies starting in the 1970s.⁶² They were often described as on the verge of disappearing—not completely untrue, due to harsh financial conditions affecting the capacity and volition of their poor, Afro-Bahian members to continue the *folgado*. But it was also standard rhetoric in the tourism industry, employed to increase the appeal of an attraction on the verge of extinction. In 1973, the local press enthused that because of

⁵⁷ “Carnaval: Concurso de cordões, batucadas, afochês, grandes e pequenos clubes,” *A Tarde* (Salvador), 06 February 1959.

⁵⁸ “Grandes e pequenos clubes nos concursos oficiais,” *A Tarde* (Salvador), 11 February 1961.

⁵⁹ This remains speculation, but perhaps there were different licensing fees or procedures, or different official subsidy amounts given, making one category more or less viable for some reason; perhaps some groups did not wish to compete against other groups, so agreed to place themselves in separate categories. There may have been interventions according to city definitions of classification of “type.” Further research in this area would be extremely difficult, given the paucity of official sources for Salvador’s carnival, but would shine needed light on how groups such as the *afoxés* formed, conceived of their own identity, and interacted with the authorities and each other.

⁶⁰ “Escola de samba e afoxé têm diferenças básicas que marcam a categoria,” *Diário da Noite*, 13 February 1970. The delineation of traits is rather superficial: a samba school educates the public on a chosen theme, and its percussion section is commanded by a whistle; meanwhile, a central trait of the *afoxé* is “music in an African dialect.”

⁶¹ Carneiro, “Elementos Novos no Folclore Carioca,” 124.

⁶² They were included in the feature on carnival in Bahia’s official tourism magazine *ViverBahia* (February 1976).

their “peculiar characteristics” and “mysticism,” the *afoxés* represented a traditional and unique Afro-Bahian contribution to “the best carnival in the world” that appealed to the “curiosity of tourists,” although financial problems had nearly forced the Filhos de Gandhi to abandon their participation in carnival that year.⁶³ A 1975 article in *ViverBahia*, the Bahian state tourism department magazine distributed nationally, upped the rhetoric: “The *afoxés* are about to go extinct... every year it is harder to keep them going. They should be maintained, against all odds.” The text condescendingly implies that future was inevitable, though, by stating “*Afoxés* are magic, and it’s hard to preserve magic once we grow up.”⁶⁴ Later, a 1979 newspaper article declares that the *afoxés* are “typical of the Bahian carnival,” but wisecracks that that year, “despite the enormous financial difficulties that threaten their very existence, seven of them will participate in carnival, with lots of help from the *orixás* and some additional help from Bahiatursa.”⁶⁵

Available archives indicate that overall in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s, folklorists researching Bahia were not overtly interested in either Salvador’s carnival, nor in the Afro-Brazilian culture that later became deployed as “folklore” by journalists or the local hegemonic interests typically acting through tourism departments.⁶⁶ This might have taken a different turn, with profound ramifications for the historical literature on carnival

⁶³ “Afoxés, uma presença rica de misticismos,” *Diário de Notícias*, 08 March 1973.

⁶⁴ “Afoxé,” *ViverBahia* #17, February 1975, p. 5.

⁶⁵ “Afoxé já foi perseguido. Hoje só corre atrás quem não quer perder seu desfile,” *Jornal da Bahia*, 25 February 1979.

⁶⁶ That said, the Bibliography section of the CNFL’s *Bulletin* series, which was compiled in Almeida’s MEC office and listed recent newspaper and magazine articles of potential folkloric interest, cast a much wider net than the folklorists’ research programs themselves, to include pieces on carnival and popular culture. A sampling of those citations includes Ibecc/Cnfl – BB-5 April 1948, “Lira, Mariza: Origens dos Trajes Regionais Baianos,” *Vamos Ler*, 3 April 1948; Ibecc/Cnfl – BB-6 June 1948, “Tavares, Cláudio: Afoché. Ritmo Bárbero da Bahia, reportagem com fotos de Pierre Verger,” *Cruzeiro*, 29 May 1948; Ibecc/Cnfl – BB-17 April 1949, “Brandão, Darwin: A Culinária do Dendê,” *A Tarde* (Salvador), 29 March 1949; Ibecc/Cnfl – BB-97 December 1955, “Lira, Mariza: “Miss Brasil e o Traje da ‘Baiana,’” *Correio da Manhã*, 7 August 1955; Ibecc/Cnfl – BB-99 February 1956, “Luiz Ernesto: “Inicia Hoje a Batalha do Turismo na Bahia,” *Tribuna da Imprensa*, 5 January 1956; Ibecc/Cnfl/BB-113 April 1957, “Barata, Mario: A História do Carnaval Carioca e Museu Carmen Miranda,” *Diário de Notícias*, 3 March 1957.

in Bahia, since both Katarina Real and Edison Carneiro had briefly considered settling in Salvador in the early 1960s.⁶⁷ No one else appeared to systematically engage the subject of Bahian folklore's relation to carnival in their stead, although local folklorist Waldeloir Rêgo had expressed the intention to write a book on carnival in the early 1980s.⁶⁸ *Bahia, Carnaval*, the 1993 book by Félix and Nery on twentieth-century Bahian carnival, is very valuable as a collection of reminiscences (including details and some photographs), but as an historical reference it is inconsistent in the recording of dates.

With respect to Afro-Bahian culture, its regional specificity and uniqueness (often rooted in the Bahian experience of *candomblé*, such as the popular street cuisine sold by the *baianas*) might, at some level, have presented a problem to folklorists who were aiming for empirical coherence at the national level by concentrating on classifying local embodiments of established, recognized national forms—such as the *bumba-meu-boi* or the Christmas *folgado* of wandering kings, as well as the archetypes of popular song Mario de Andrade had described. The *afoxés* presented something of an exception, because while their manifestation in Salvador was the most famous and distinctive, some folklorists suggested that the African-derived street processions in Fortaleza and Rio de Janeiro, along with Recife's *maracatu*, were all related.⁶⁹ However, it is not surprising

⁶⁷ Real's intention was to study carnival in Salvador until she was persuaded to stay in Recife by Gilberto Freyre (Real, *O Folclore no Carnaval do Recife*, xxiv). In the early 1960s Carneiro was invited by the director of Salvador's Centro de Estudos Afro-Orientais (CEAO, founded 1959) to move back from Rio de Janeiro and take over the center's directorship; but, said Oliveira, "He had gotten accustomed to Rio, was raising his kids as *cariocas*, and got along really well with the samba school people and the folklorists." Biaggio Talento & Luiz Alberto Couceiro, *Edison Carneiro: O Mestre Antigo* (Salvador: Assembleia Legislativa da Bahia, 2009), 125-6.

⁶⁸ "Carnaval baiano terá sua história," *A Tarde* (Salvador), 01 June 1980. The intended book would cover the period from the mid-nineteenth century, and Bahia's experience with the *entrudo*, all the way up to the present day. It is regrettable that Rêgo was unable to complete the project; his book on *capoeira angola* (1968) still stands as the most thorough work on that subject.

⁶⁹ Raul Giovanni Lody, *Cadernos de Folclore 7: Afoxé* (Rio de Janeiro: MEC / CDFB, 1976); Arai, "O Carnaval do Recife e a Formação do Folclore Negro no Brasil." Arguments persist—including among *afoxé* and *maracatu* participants themselves—over whether *afoxés* are strictly ludic manifestations of Afro-

that Bahian tourism boosters insisted that the *afoxés* were, along with the *trio elétrico*, “exclusive to the carnival of Bahia.”⁷⁰ Uniqueness has long been a key aspect of tourist marketing (along with the urgency created by warning that attractions were endangered). In 1977, Paulo Gaudenzi, an economist working in Bahian tourism development (and who was the president of Bahia state tourism authority Bahiatursa from 1979 to 1997), wrote in a national newspaper that the state had great potential to enter the global tourism market, especially Europe—not just because of its sun-drenched beaches but due “above all, to the state’s cultural heritage, its daily life immersed in Afro-Brazilian customs which differentiates it absolutely from the rest of Brazil.”⁷¹

For midcentury folklorists, there was a tense balance between discounting the extraordinary as too singular to be comprehended in all-important national terms, and maintaining the cultural diversity for which Brazil was famous. Ironically, of course, as the growth of Salvador’s carnival will show, the more successful and accepted a “unique” manifestation becomes as a cultural phenomenon at the national level, the more the terms by which the nation configures itself can be readjusted to accommodate, reconcile, and recast what was once deemed outside national praxis.⁷² In Brazil, regional specificity of folklore led to concerns over exaggerating the exoticness of “picturesque,” narrowly

Brazilian spiritualism for public occasions, or whether they present and are defined by genuine “mystic, magic, and religious” aspects (as Lody argued).

⁷⁰ “Afoxé,” *ViverBahia* 17.

⁷¹ Paulo Gaudenzi, “Bahia e o turismo internacional,” *Jornal da Bahia*, 11 August 1977. Without laboring the point, it is suggestive to note the difference in tone and emphasis regarding the separateness of Afro-Brazilian culture from the Brazilian mainstream in a different setting, in 1952, when the Alagoas state government asked the Alagoas folklore sub-commission for assistance in “regulating” the “cultos afro-brasileiros” (*candomblé* nations), ostensibly for state authorities to better help protect them from “exploitation and other illegal behaviors” but more fundamentally to make the “acculturative process more rapid and efficient, and above all, nationalist in its goals.” Manuel Diegues Jr., Ibecc/Cnfl – Documento 246, (undated) 1952 (CNFCP DA: CNFL\1952\Documentos 243-271).

⁷² In these terms, in particular, the case of the nationalization of Salvador’s carnival is reminiscent of Wade’s analysis of La Costa identity according to multiple “ideological fields... highly subject to appropriation and resignification” (*Music, Race, and Nation*, 42-3).

localized culture rather than finding the “national essence,” or delineating related variations of authentic traits of broader Brazilian identity in its shared quotidian forms.⁷³

When Edison Carneiro wrote about the Afro-Bahian *afoxés* brought by northeastern migrants to Rio de Janeiro, and their being absorbed into the urban folk culture of the nation’s capital in the early 1950s, he was in a particular sense arguing for their truly national character, as in the case of samba and related *folguedos*.⁷⁴ He was likely pleased when the Rio-based Filhos de Gandhi sent him a letter advising that he was being “promoted” from an honorary member to “Honorary President” of the *bloco carnavalesco* (carnival group).⁷⁵ Similarly, Carneiro had earlier argued that *capoeira* should be considered a product of the wider Brazilian experience of slavery and colonial social relations, and its different regional manifestations from Rio de Janeiro to Bahia comprehended as part of one folkloric category—implicitly rejecting the claim that a new variant developed in Bahia, the so-called *capoeira regional* attributed to Mestre Bimba in the late 1930s, was fundamentally different and original, hence distinct from its folkloric ancestors.⁷⁶ It may be, as one anthropologist has suggested, that the Estado Novo’s

⁷³ See Carneiro’s essay on the importance of the folklore of daily life, “O Folclore do Cotidiano,” in *A Dinâmica do Folclore*.

⁷⁴ Carneiro, “Elementos Novos no Folclore Carioca,” in *Sabedoria Popular*.

⁷⁵ Letter from Filho [sic] de Gandhi President Alberto Salles Pontes to Edison Carneiro; typed on group letterhead (specifying the foundation date of 12 August 1951 and the “temporary headquarters” address of 246 Julio do Carmo), the letter bears “Ofício no. 017” but is undated. CNFCP DA: Série Edison Carneiro, Documentos\Correspondência\Bloco carnavalesco Filho de Ghandi\Recebida.

⁷⁶ Carneiro, “Capoeira de Angola,” in *Negros Bantus: Notas de Etnografia Religiosa e de Folclore* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1937). Multiple republications of this work exist, often paired with *Religiões Negras* (written in 1936). The article on *capoeira* was republished after Carneiro’s death, in the *Cadernos de Folclore* series by FUNARTE (Fundação Nacional de Artes), in 1975 and 1977. This questioning of the legitimacy of *regional* was later extended by Waldeloir Rêgo, himself an employee of the tourism department, who saw the rise of an ostensibly uniquely Bahian *capoeira* as not genuine cultural innovation but as a product of the convergence of state co-optation (the state government officialized and endorsed Bimba’s version of *capoeira* as physical education in 1937, leading to its diffusion to troops, boy scouts and students as a patriotic means of physical fitness), and marketing—both to tourists by public / private tourism interests, and to potential deep-pocketed new students in the local middle class by the savvy *capoeiristas* themselves. Waldeloir Rêgo, *Capoeira Angola: Ensaio Sócio-Etnográfico* (Salvador: Editôra Itapuã, 1968), 359-362; *Capoeira* (Salvador: Editôra Itapuã, 1969), s / n. *Capoeira* is an endlessly

nationalizing project chose to endorse the *capoeira* of Bahia since that form did not bear the long history of political controversies associated with Rio's *capoeira* of the nineteenth century.⁷⁷ Carneiro's implicit defense of the "other" *capoeira*, which came later to be called *angola* to assert its African origins, was not a defense of African cultural survivals but an argument for comprehending the practice in the totality of its national forms (and not as a localized trademark of Bahia). In any case, the growing prominence of Bahia as a national site of the origins and continuity of Brazilian *capoeira* fed into other local discourses of the state (and its capital, once the capital of the entire colony) as a space that uniquely embodied fundamental aspects of Brazilian culture and race relations. Writer Jorge Amado urged Brazilians to visit the city and experience it for themselves in his 1945 historical chronicle / travel guide, *Bahia de Todos os Santos*.⁷⁸

It was the local and picturesque (whatever it might mean for folklore theory and Brazilian national identity) that could most easily be packaged to draw tourists, especially at the level of the state and municipal governments that fostered tourism departments. Cooperation with tourism initiatives had been carefully written into the CNFL's most

controversial subject. Certainly the students of Mestre Bimba's academies have disagreed with the critiques that Bimba merely added aspects of boxing and karate to *capoeira* and, with a discourse of local origin, made it amenable to officials and the middle class; see, for instance, Jair Moura, *Capoeira: A Luta Regional Baiana* (Estado da Bahia: Prefeitura Municipal de Salvador, Divisão de Folclore, 1979); Bira Almeida, *Capoeira: A Brazilian Art Form* (Berkeley: North Atlantic Books, 1986). A good overview of the debates over *capoeira*'s origins and significance is in Leticia Vidor de Sousa Reis, *O Mundo de Pernas para o Ar: A Capoeira no Brasil* (São Paulo: Publisher Brasil, 2000).

⁷⁷ Leticia Vido de Souza Reis, "A 'Aquarela do Brasil': Reflexões preliminares sobre a construção nacional do samba e da capoeira," *Cadernos do Campo* (USP), ano III no. 3, 1993. Reis contrasts the experience of *capoeira* with that of samba; for the Estado Novo, concerned with uniting the country around progressive and modern values, Bahia's samba was distasteful because of its links to African *candomblé*, unlike the carnival samba of Rio de Janeiro. On the *capoeira* in Rio de Janeiro, see Carlos Eugênio Soares, *A capoeira escrava e outras tradições rebeldes no Rio de Janeiro, 1808-1850*, 2nd ed. (Campinas: Editora da Unicamp, 2004).

⁷⁸ Amado opens the book with a quote from his friend Dorival Caymmi's 1941 song "Você já foi à Bahia?" I have not seen a first edition of the book; my second edition (São Paulo: Livraria Martins, 1951) urges several times in the introduction, "Vem, a Bahia te espera!" The phrase "A Bahia te espera" was the title of a hit samba from the year before written by Herivelto Martins and recorded by his Trio de Ouro. It would require consulting a first edition of Amado's book for the presence of that phrase before 1950 to begin to construct an argument regarding which artist (Martins or Amado) was drawing from which.

fundamental document, the Carta do Folclore Brasileiro, which had been developed during the First Brazilian Folklore Congress in August 1951.⁷⁹ But as the 1950s proceeded, “folklore” was both a public fad and a contested field, as folklorists struggled for support and professional recognition while remaining financially dependent on governments at the national, state, and municipal levels who were increasingly able to leverage resources and outmaneuver folklorists’ activities. This could lead to tension, as in 1953, when Salvador’s city hall organized its own “Folklore Week” to display “the legends, customs, hospitality, and unique people of old Bahia” as it saw them, independent of the CNFL; Almeida was livid, writing to the secretary of the Bahia sub-commission, José Calazans, “What the devil is this? They stole our idea and are doing it without us... Absolutely, I do not understand anything anymore.”⁸⁰ The use of folklore as a tourist attraction implicated a series of interventions in practice, as tourism departments—better funded than folklore institutions—worked to simultaneously both transform and preserve the manifestations in ways best suited to draw visitors.⁸¹

Of course, as with *capoeira*, there was often overlap between the spheres of folklore and tourism: for instance, *maculelê* (a form of fighting dance performed with

⁷⁹ The Carta do Folclore Brasileiro was published by the CNFL in Documento 235, 4/10/1951 (CNFCP DA: CNFL\1951\Documentos 216-242). Section XIX of that document stated, “The utilization of folkloric elements as a font of tourism development deserves to be stimulated and incentivized, providing that the entities within the CNFL are in constant contact and understanding, so that a regime of strict and beneficial cooperation can be maintained.”

⁸⁰ Letter from Renato Almeida to José Calazans, 16 January 1953 (CNFCP DA: CNFL / Pasta: Comissões Estaduais de Folclore\Bahia\expedidas – 1948 a 1952 [sic]). The *convênio* written by the CNFL and which it urged all governors to sign stated that governments would support and promote folklore in projects guided by “competent specialists,” which the folklorists assumed referred to themselves. Two years later, Almeida was further galled when the Pernambuco state government founded a folklore museum in Recife independent of the CNFL, and he found out through an article in a national newsmagazine; letter from Renato Almeida to Getúlio César, 30 August 1955 (CNFCP DA: CNFL / Pasta: Comissões Estaduais de Folclore\Pernambuco\expedidas – 1948 a 1955).

⁸¹ Rêgo, himself employed by Salvador’s tourism department, claimed that the “greatest negative agent in the proceeding decadence of *capoeira*, speaking sociologically and ethnographically, was the municipal tourism authority. Guardian of financial, material, and promotional assistance, it corrupted *capoeira* as much as it could” (*Capoeira Angola*, 361).

sticks or machetes, usually attributed to the cultural legacy of slaves in Bahia's sugar plantations), which was the subject of independent research endorsed by a member of the Bahia state sub-commission in the late 1960s and also featured in the city's tourist-minded Folklore Center.⁸² But by the 1950s, state tourism strategy began to cohere around emphasizing the exotic nature of local Afro-Bahian culture, including a range of festivals and *folgedos* involving holy days and spaces for both Catholic and African-derived saints. Whatever the hegemonic calculations behind this (ably explored by Ickes and others), the bottom-line goal was to expand the opportunities for tourism beyond the carnival season.⁸³ This joined ongoing practices integrating carnival's planning directly with tourism efforts (the city's tourism department first intervened in carnival in 1934, holding meetings with representatives of the city and carnival clubs and organizing lighting and decoration),⁸⁴ but significantly expanded the city's palette of tourist attractions beyond the few days of carnival itself.

Carnival and Tourism before the Rise of the Trio Elétrico

The discourses of “popular participation” and cultural innovation as the distinguishing characteristics of Salvador's carnival only began to cohere in systematic

⁸² Hildegardes Viana wrote to Edison Carneiro about the *maculelê* research by Emilia Biancardi Ferreira in a letter on 31 March 1968 (CNFCP DA: Série Edison Carneiro, Documentos\Correspondências\Viana, Wildegardes\Recebida 1968/1970).

⁸³ Jocélio Teles dos Santos critiques the way the city of Salvador's Folklore Center, inaugurated on 31 December 1969, included Afro-Brazilian samba and *capoeira*: during the dictatorship, “branches of the state apparatus sought to define Afro-Brazilian culture as folklore in order to foster tourism... the state sought both political control and what might be termed symbolic surplus value for economic development” (“Mixed-Race Nation, 122-3). However, he does not effectively contrast this approach from that of the decades-long folklore movement, nor does he address the ample view of folklore (and hence folklore producers) the Center contained. According to a picture in *A Tarde* from the opening ceremony (“Centro Folclórico já funciona e turistas viram a inauguração,” 2 January 1970), first visitors (including Salvador's mayor and Bahia's governor) encountered large tables covered with ceramics from the interior, suggesting both how the state could appear to support the interests of the CNFL, and the state sub-commission's focus on handicrafts, while deploying other strategies divergent from the stated values of many folklorists.

⁸⁴ Lúcia Aquino de Queiroz, *Turismo na Bahia: Estratégias para o Desenvolvimento* (Salvador: Empresa Gráfica da Bahia, 2002), 23.

ways in the mid-late 1960s, a result of several factors: the ubiquity of the *trio elétrico* with its associated spontaneous forms of mass revelry, in carnival and in a range of other festive or commercial situations; an increasing emphasis on tourism for economic development and social goodwill, not just locally but nationally (the federal tourism organization Embratur, Empresa Brasileira de Turismo, was created in 1966, followed two years later by Bahia's state version, Bahiatursa, in November 1968); and the persistence of the military dictatorship and its antidemocratic entrenchment through Institutional Act Five in December 1968. At the beginning of the 1950s, carnival was the city's main tourist draw—with around one thousand North Americans anticipated to arrive on cruise ships for the carnival of 1953⁸⁵—but during the immediate post-war years Salvador's festival remained peripheral to, and overshadowed by, those of Rio de Janeiro and Recife. The presence of *caretas* and Afro-Bahian *afoxés* were the unique features in public celebrations otherwise characterized by diverse Rio-style samba schools and local *batucadas*, along with the ornate street parades staged by elite private clubs.⁸⁶ Based on historical trends of domestic Brazilian tourism in the 1950s, which was overwhelmingly to Rio de Janeiro, its carnival provoked only slightly more curiosity among foreign tourists than Brazilian ones.⁸⁷ Mid-1950s city-sponsored carnival decorations were modest and rooted in general global carnival aesthetics (the Italian / French *colombina* and *pierrot* figures, the portly King Momo, dancing harlequins, et cetera) rather than highlighting local culture.⁸⁸ Salvador's city hall attempted over several years in the mid-late 1950s to hold its own elite private carnival party—the “Baile do

⁸⁵ Queiroz, *Turismo na Bahia*, 33.

⁸⁶ Ickes, “Salvador's Transformist Hegemony,” 180-1.

⁸⁷ Diegues, “Regional and Domestic Mass Tourism in Brazil,” 57-8.

⁸⁸ “Ornamentação da cidade,” *Estado da Bahia*, 26 January 1956.

Galo Vermelho”—at the state-built Hotel da Bahia as both tourist attraction and fundraiser, along the lines of Recife’s municipal events, but the practice did not last due to what the scant documentation suggests was organizational problems.⁸⁹ It was briefly replaced by the “Baile do Ri Ri Ri,” sponsored and organized by the journalist trade group Association of Bahian Carnival Chroniclers, promising “animation and orderly fun” for tourists.⁹⁰ The *trio elétrico* would emerge and be embraced as a popular phenomenon at the same time that the city was searching for ways to shape local carnival into a successful, unique tourist attraction. Relying as it did by its second year of existence (1952) on private sponsorship, including the incorporation of advertising on the vehicle itself, the *trio elétrico* represents a rapid expansion of the visual commercialization of local carnival which Ickes dates to 1941, with the festival featuring ads from Águia Central Bakery and Jacaré liquors.⁹¹

If many of Brazil’s major cities were exploring tourism as a source of economic profit by the 1950s, officials in Salvador turned to it with particular fervor. The state’s indices of social development were low, its rural interior was wracked by the same intensity of droughts afflicting nearby Pernambuco (impacting agriculture and spurring migration of unskilled laborers to Salvador), and attempts to transform the economy with exports of rubber, cocoa beans, and twine had all underperformed expectations.⁹² But in the early 1950s, Salvador was a marginalized city of degrading colonial architecture and

⁸⁹ “O ‘Galo Vermelho’ vai acontecer na Associação,” *A Tarde* (Salvador), 16 January 1957.

⁹⁰ “Baile do Ri Ri Ri abre o carnaval,” *A Tarde* (Salvador), 6 February 1964.

⁹¹ Ickes, “Salvador’s Transformist Hegemony,” 202.

⁹² Entrenched regional disparities in Brazil’s economic development favoring the country’s center-southeast would be worsened by the targeted nature of investment and industrialization under Kubitschek (1956-1961). National petroleum company Petrobrás had not yet started to explore Bahia’s oil stocks in a project that would ultimately help transform Salvador’s culture and economy starting in the 1960s, a process of change stimulated further soon after by the development of petrochemical industries outside the city proper. Risério, *Uma História da Cidade da Bahia*, 514-7; “A ajuda nacional à Bahia: Calamidade pública,” *A Tarde* (Salvador), 8 March 1952.

a majority population of poor Afro-Brazilians, marked by racial / social inequality and the persistence of deep-rooted clientelist politics.⁹³ Before the concentrated efforts to develop tourism in Recife around carnival in the 1960s, and before the development of EMBRATUR (Empresa Brasileira de Turismo, the federal tourism enterprise) in 1966, Salvador had tourists in its sights as a source of developmental salvation. In 1952, a shipload of American industrialists arriving on the cruiseliner “Argentina,” of the “Good Neighbor Fleet,” was handed the key to the city by mayor Osvaldo Gordilho.⁹⁴ Over the ensuing years the press did its part to shift the attitude from one of hopeful supplication to one taking for granted that tourists would want to come and experience the city, especially over carnival, as a 1964 article entitled “tourists rebel to stay longer and get to know Bahia” makes clear.⁹⁵ But perhaps the efforts were paying off. For each month of 1973, the federal office of Public Relations devised a thematic program of “cultural diffusion” across a range of mass media; in April, the theme would be tourism (with the slogan “Know Your Country Better”) and the state featured was Bahia.⁹⁶

In late 1953, the city formalized and centralized its approach to tourism strategy with the creation of two municipal organizations dedicated to expanding opportunities for tourism through the mapping of tourism zones and the stimulation and diffusion of local culture, as well as financing infrastructure such as information systems, hotels and transport.⁹⁷ Notably, carnival was not singled out or emphasized in any clear way as a

⁹³ Romo, *Brazil's Living Museum*, 4-5.

⁹⁴ “Foi entregue aos turistas a chave simbolica da cidade,” *A Tarde* (Salvador), 5 February 1952.

⁹⁵ “Turistas rebelaram-se para conhecer a Bahia,” *A Tarde* (Salvador) 04 February 1964. Actually, the ship attempted to leave Bahia a day earlier than its itinerary indicated, and tourists did complain about that.

⁹⁶ “Em abril quem viver verá o que é que a baiana tem,” *Diário de Notícias*, 23 February 1973.

⁹⁷ The Conselho de Turismo da Cidade do Salvador and the Diretoria Municipal de Turismo were created by Law 410 of 10 September 1953. Hotels were given tax relief, based on their location: within the city, five years' exemption from paying taxes; fifteen years' exemption for hotels on the city's underdeveloped beachfront, from Amaralina to Itapuã (the quiet, palm-clad region often sung about by Caymmi, and which

priority within the specific responsibilities to “organize annual programs of festivals and public entertainment which are likely to become motives of touristic attraction, such as those of regional, civic, or folkloric character, or scientific, religious, or sporting congresses.”⁹⁸ The fact that Salvador’s hosting of the third national folklore congress in 1957 relied on city support (although the idea had developed from the initiative of the state subcommission) likely derived at least in part from the city’s commitment to tourism; the published list of attendees was around 180 people, many from Bahia but also from around Brazil, including luminaries such as the mayor of São Paulo and two Varig airline executives, who would spend a week in Salvador.⁹⁹ Early in 1953, in the lead-up to carnival, an article in Bahia’s major newspaper sought to reassure readers that, despite the “difficult financial situation” of the city and state, the mayor would direct financial support to the festival “to demonstrate that he appreciates the diversions of the people;” funding for lighting, decorations, sanitation, and carnival’s cultural production (“a reasonable auxiliary” for *blocos*, *batucadas*, et cetera that accepted official licensing and regulations¹⁰⁰) would come principally from the Department of Archives and Divulgence which was charged with fomenting tourism, “since carnival serves as both touristic attraction and touristic propaganda.”¹⁰¹

required a horse to visit in the 1930s due to the lack of paved roads). Private enterprise, which would ultimately prove avid sponsors of carnival and private carnival entities, was much more reluctant to invest in key physical infrastructure such as hotels, leading the state and local governments to focus resources on lodging in the 1950s and 1960s while encouraging private investment through a range of policies (hotel construction was the prime directive of Bahiatursa in 1968). Queiroz, *Turismo na Bahia*, 40-1, 69, 95.

⁹⁸ Subset h, article 10 of Law 410 (Queiroz, *Turismo na Bahia*, 43).

⁹⁹ “III Congresso Brasileiro de Folclore: Relatório geral do Congresso apresentado por Dante de Laytano, Relator.”

¹⁰⁰ See Ickes, “Salvador’s Transformist Hegemony,” 179, 197 for an account of those regulations in the late 1930s and 1940s.

¹⁰¹ “Carnaval: A prefeitura quer que a folia seja excelente,” *A Tarde* (Salvador), 21 January 1953.

Yet, considered from a range of other sources in the 1940s and 1950s, Salvador's carnival was not receiving the attention and publicity one might expect. Jorge Amado's guide to the city went on at great length about the diverse popular festivals taking place before and after carnival, and in different seasons throughout the year, without exploring it explicitly—likely because he did not view it as a unique enough expression of local identity to merit comment.¹⁰² Similarly, even the 1958 official tourist guidebook to the city (published under the auspices of the governor) did not include carnival in its listing “calendar of popular festivals,” nor did carnival merit attention alongside features such as *capoeira*, “Afro-Bahian cults,” street markets, or hotel listings in its nearly 400 pages.¹⁰³ An internationally-aimed touristic book on Bahia (undated, but likely mid-1950s, with text in five languages) includes only two pictures of revelers wearing characteristic “carnival costumes,” alongside scores of images of colonial-era architecture and artwork, agriculture, and contemporary street life.¹⁰⁴

Remarkably, another view of Salvador's carnival, casting it not as a collective patriotic festival or picturesque tourist draw but as a threat to truly unique local culture, came from the city's main newspaper. In January 1955, Salvador's embodiment of the traditional Brazilian Christmas-season *folgado* of three wandering kings (*ternos de reis*) had been largely abandoned and replaced with what was called in the era a *grito de carnaval*, or early carnival parties.¹⁰⁵ The journalist attributed this lamentable

¹⁰² In *Bahia de Todos os Santos*, he mentions many events near carnival on the calendar such as the Lavagem do Bonfim and Festa de Iemanjá, along with many other local holy days.

¹⁰³ *Roteiro Turístico da Cidade do Salvador*. Salvador: Imprensa Oficial da Bahia, 1958.

¹⁰⁴ *Isto é a Bahia!* (São Paulo: Edições Melhoramentos, n/d). The latest date mentioned in the text, referring to principal state exports, was 1952.

¹⁰⁵ “Sem ternos a noite de reis,” *A Tarde* (Salvador), 5 January 1955.

development to the dramatic socioeconomic problems affecting the folk (*povo*), as well as lack of official support in keeping carnival's degradations at bay:

The problem is that the people, principally the humble classes, precisely those that most ardently maintain Bahian traditions, nowadays can think of nothing other than struggling for survival in the difficult straits that confront all of us. At the same time, city hall, that claims to be both committed and functional, finds itself impotent in the matter of financing and stimulating popular festival culture. So, because of crisis, of inflation, and principally because of the lack of assistance from government, the celebration of the Wise Kings faces a melancholy end... It is to weep to consider the sorry state of Bahia's popular traditions, because, while they are manifestations of good taste and patriotism, they are also tourist attractions in a place that stands to benefit much from that industry.¹⁰⁶

The issue was complicated, because as carnival was growing in scale along with population growth after 1930, its preliminary music rehearsals and social get-togethers increasingly overlapped with other nominally distinct traditions performed only weeks or days before carnival itself. The presence of so many popular festivals from December to the end of March, coincidentally Salvador's warmest months—a 1981 folklore guide to Bahia lists 34 summer festivals, including carnival¹⁰⁷—led to summer being widely referred to as “tourism season” (*época de turismo*) by the 1970s. And in this context, carnival merriment in the 1950s, with its unstructured carousing, flirtations, and beery sambas, represented a threat to the traditional continuity and folkloric integrity of the *ternos de reis* as a distinct *folgado*. As we have seen previously, the idea of carnival as a source of disorder (not only in the immediate form of its unstructured public revelry, but in its insidious vulnerability to foreign and mass-culture taints, prejudicial to authentic Brazilian identity) was widespread. But this case sparked an unusual alliance between defenders of folklore, who called for the maintenance of local popular tradition, and the

¹⁰⁶ “Sem ternos a noite de reis.”

¹⁰⁷ Hildegardes Viana, *Folclore Brasileiro: Bahia* (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Cultura), 1981.

Catholic Church, an institution which could often take a dim view of folkloric practices deemed ribald, undisciplined, or profane.

Perhaps the most notorious instance of Catholic rejection of local folklore was the long conflict over the annual washing (*lavagem*) of the Bonfim Church by Afro-Bahian followers of the *orixá* Oxala, who was equated in *candomblé* with the Senhor do Bonfim, Salvador's patron saint. Starting in 1890, ecclesiastical authorities prohibited the practice (which involved ornate parades, singing, and offerings of flowers and perfume by women in traditional *baiana* costume) as disrespectful and immoral; after decades of debate and tension the event was finally officially permitted and regulated by 1953, as part of city tourism initiatives.¹⁰⁸ But the *ternos de reis* were not a similarly problematic instance of syncretism but properly and "deeply religious" at their core, argued the vicar of Salvador's Lapinha Church, who called on all Catholics to ensure that the *folgado* of the wise kings was not replaced by secular carnival celebrations; and he warned that if it did occur, he would lock the church's doors in a sign of protest.¹⁰⁹

Ickes, discussing what he termed "carnival creep," observes that local concern over the presence of carnival music in the January celebrations of saints and other religious-based folklore was being voiced in the media as early as the late 1930s.¹¹⁰ He attributes the growing carnivalization of those *folgedos* at that time to a gradual secularization of the festivals, due in part to demography—new generations of young

¹⁰⁸ Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won*, 185-6; Ickes, "Salvador's Transformist Hegemony," 87-122. Ickes provides a more complete picture of the tradition in the 1930s and 1940s, but seems to underestimate the role of tourism strategy in the eventual government support for ending the ecclesiastical prohibition. Queiroz insists that the growing official support for popular festivals at the time was part of "great effervescence in tourism activities... the festivals began to be organized and promoted by commissions created by public authorities;" and she notes that in 1954 the washing of Bonfim Church featured the presence of Bahia's governor and Salvador's mayor (*Turismo na Bahia*, 48-9).

¹⁰⁹ "Sem ternos a noite de reis: The vicar protests."

¹¹⁰ Ickes, "Salvador's Transformist Hegemony," 156-7.

people in the city creating festive culture that was less informed by traditional beliefs and associated practices. Carnival developments facilitated the further interpenetration of festival practices, also leading the contrary direction—to an influence of the sacred on the profane. In 1975, the Trio Elétrico Dodô and Osmar drove up from Ribeira to the Bonfim Church on the Friday before carnival started; Moraes Moreira recalls that they performed a version of the Hymn to the Senhor do Bonfim, and “Armandinho’s solos would echo up and down the street, and the residents all opened their windows to listen... we played other songs, until we felt blessed by our Father, and felt the way was open for us to celebrate carnival with peace, love, and happiness.”¹¹¹ Although describing it in preparations for the 1975 carnival performance of the *trio*, Moraes suggests this was a “ritual” established years before and which became known as the “Blessing (*Benção*).”

As Salvador’s carnival transformed and became the centerpiece of the local cultural economy, this process would continue unabated, creating headaches for tourism planners who understood that each individual festival needed to maintain its unique attributes to remain a viable, autonomous attraction—while, at the same time, recognizing that the *trio elétrico* is also unique to Bahian history and a tourist draw year-round, as well as being the format around which local musicians, who reasonably expect to perform at traditional events, organize their performances. In 1975, *trios elétricos* were (temporarily) banned from all traditional festivals but those deemed “pre-carnival,” such as the secular neighborhood events in Ribeira, Pituba, and Rio Vermelho.¹¹² Recently, however, concerns over protecting the integrity of traditional festivals from carnival, expressed by both officials and the public, have been winning out. For instance, the *trio*

¹¹¹ Moraes Moreira, *Sonhos Elétricos* (Rio de Janeiro: Azougue Editorial, 2010), 35.

¹¹² “Trios-elétricos só tocarão em festas pre-carnavalescas,” *A Tarde* (Salvador), 18 November 1975.

elétrico was banned from the Lavagem do Bonfim in 1998, and from a similar symbolic cleaning of a church in Itapuã in 2009.¹¹³ And in early 2012, Salvador's municipal tourism entity (SALTUR) prohibited the participation of *trio elétrico*-style amplified trucks in the traditional Iemanjá Festival, held every second of February on a small stretch of beach in the neighborhood of Rio Vermelho, because they "create confusion and change the character of the event."¹¹⁴

Salvador's Carnival in the Early 1950s

Salvador's carnival scene in the era of the creation of the *trio elétrico*, around 1950, was diverse and relatively decentralized. Ickes describes the *blocos* and *cordões*, small carnival associations typically formed within sectors of professional or labor groups (dockworkers, sailors, et cetera), which included bands composed of wind instruments and percussion and usually paraded within a cord or rope separating themselves from the surrounding crowd; the *afoxés*, including the Filhos de Gandhi, which were recently founded in 1949; and the *batucadas* or simple samba schools designed on the Rio model.¹¹⁵ There were also *pranchas*, small groups of family and friends who would create a costume theme and parade along the city's streetcar tracks.¹¹⁶ Loudspeakers were mounted at principal locations around the city to broadcast carnival recordings.¹¹⁷ Private enterprise sponsored staged carnival presentations around the city, including at cooler beachfront spots, where thanks to Rádio Sociedade and the soft-drink maker Fratelli Vita, people could enjoy music performed by the radio station's orchestra

¹¹³ "Confira o Calendário do Verão da Bahia," <http://www.salvadorcomh.com.br> (accessed 27 May 2012).

¹¹⁴ "Trios estão proibidos na Festa de Iemanjá," *A Tarde* (Salvador), 02 February 2012.

¹¹⁵ Ickes, "Salvador's Transformist Hegemony," chapter 5: "Carnival."

¹¹⁶ Góes, *O País do Carnaval Elétrico*, 20.

¹¹⁷ "A ornamentação da cidade para o carnaval: Uma reunião ontem no gabinete do prefeito," *A Tarde* (Salvador), 24 January 1952.

with a range of guest singers as well as by samba bands and samba schools.¹¹⁸ Carnival was also very active “in the neighborhoods, crucibles of festivity, whose contributions differed according to the commercial and residential dynamics, historical traditions, rivalries, and personalities of the area.”¹¹⁹ Some of them held elaborate programs and elected their own “Neighborhood Carnival Queen.”¹²⁰ But the locus of media attention and public spectatorship was the city’s main business district and principally the Avenida Sete de Setembro, leading to the grand Praça Castro Alves with its ocean views, and further up along the Rua Chile toward the Praça da Sé, gateway to the historic colonial district—the route where both the largest *batucadas* and the allegorical presentations and floats of the elite private clubs paraded.

Since the late nineteenth century, three clubs had become the de facto rulers of the sphere of carnival’s street parade as spectacle: Fantoches da Euterpe, Cruzeiro de Vitória (earlier called Cruz Vermelha), and Os Inocentes em Progresso. Their floats and costumes were stunningly elaborate, often based on materials imported from Europe, and depicting fantastical scenes from ancient Rome, Egypt, or Arabia, as well as themes such as opera, the planets, pirates, musical instruments, or decks of cards. Joining the decorated automobiles carrying some of the city’s wealthiest people, who waved and smiled at the crowds, live horses pulled enormous floats or were ridden by sword- or

¹¹⁸ Local newspaper advertisements listing the attractions and calling the events “The greatest present from Fratelli Vita to Bahian revelers” were common in February in the early 1950s, especially in *Diário de Notícias*.

¹¹⁹ Ickes, “Salvador’s Transformist Hegemony,” 187.

¹²⁰ Such as the 1952 *grito do carnaval* (pre-carnival party) of the area around Rua Bângala, featuring competitions with prizes for *batucadas* and samba schools and the coronation of Regina de Paula as queen of the neighborhood for the three days of carnival (“Carnaval de 52!” *A Tarde* [Salvador], 20 February 1952). A 1964 description of the carnival party in the Cosme de Farias district suggests it will be “bigger than in previous years, with the presence of *blocos*, *cordões*, *batucadas* and *afoxés*” thanks to the joint effort of local residents and city hall (“Moradores da Cosme de Farias terão animado carnaval,” *A Tarde* [Salvador], 20 January 1964).

flag-bearing knights and soldiers, according to historical images collected by Waldeloir Rego in the 1970s and 1980s for a planned but unfinished book on the history of carnival in Salvador.¹²¹ During the elite parades, in a manner that effectively consolidated civic authority with the socioeconomic power of the upper class, the clubs' music was provided by municipal bands—the firemen's band playing for Cruz Vermelha, and the military police band dividing itself among the other two clubs.¹²² Their music, as with that in the Tourism Department's official song competitions, was heavily influenced by the sambas and marches emanating from Rio de Janeiro, with similar generic lyrical emphases—festivity, glorious Brazil, new love or lost love, and racial harmony.¹²³

According to custom, lower-class spectators (typically Afro-Bahian) would fill the sidewalks with chairs and crates to sit on to watch the parade, even staking out a spot days ahead. A 1952 article in the local paper reminded readers—likely not the people setting up chairs—that the practice was unsafe, warning of the dangers of tying chairs together or to trees, and of the potential for conflict because “one needs luck, a pistol, or at least advance planning” to find space for one more piece of furniture along the route.¹²⁴ That year, the city yielded to the tenacity of the custom and made it legal, starting on Saturday before Fat Tuesday, as long as there was space to cross the sidewalk (a vague provision likely ignored). In 1956, the practice was allowed in one part of the route, from the Ladeira de São Bento to Mercês, as long as the areas in front of functioning

¹²¹ I am grateful to Edwalter Lima, archivist at the Biblioteca Pública da Bahia, who in January 2012 allowed me to explore this as-yet uncatalogued collection of images and documents, which also features confetti from a 1935 Fantoche carnival party.

¹²² Góes, *O País do Carnaval Elétrico*, 20.

¹²³ For example, Salvador's 1952 carnival song competition included as a finalist “Preto e Branco,” featuring the lines “Yes, I am black / But I am happy / Because I had the good fortune / To be born in this country / In this country / Where there is no prejudice / Where a standup fellow / Can make his own way.” The competitions were for best march and samba.

¹²⁴ “Carnaval de camarote... As cadeiras já estão invadindo a Avenida,” *A Tarde* (Salvador), 21 February 1952.

businesses were kept clear.¹²⁵ The city's curiously indefinite legal posture with respect to improvised seating continued for years, with a 1971 notice denying "rumors of prohibition" in general, but clarifying "restrictions would be made according to the quality of the furniture. Old, dirty, or broken chairs will not be permitted since they perturb the revelers attempting to transit through the sidewalks."¹²⁶

1952 was also the first year the city attempted to institute a competition for best parade performance among the three clubs. Perhaps predictably, members of the losing clubs complained that competing changed the nature and focus of the parades, with allegorical floats, banners, and other details being quickly designed to appeal to the "cultured people" on the judging platform instead of the wider public.¹²⁷ But while the elite clubs' participation in carnival would fade over the 1950s (due largely to economic problems affecting the elite, and the lack of government support¹²⁸) at the same time the *trio elétrico* rose to prominence, such resistance to official competitions as imposing aesthetic standards other than the "authentic," public ones was symbolic of how in Salvador, unlike in Rio de Janeiro or Recife, participating in such contests—among *trios*, *cordões*, *afoxés* or whatever classification of group—was voluntary and separate from other carnival licensing procedures or subsidies. Similarly, there was never an explicit requirement in Salvador for local samba schools, the elite clubs, or other culture

¹²⁵ "Cadeiras e menores durante o carnaval," *Estado da Bahia*, 10 February 1956.

¹²⁶ "Não coloque banco velho nos passeios," *A Tarde* (Salvador), 22 January 1971. It appears that the practice was finally done away with by the end of that decade, as the city contended with vaster numbers of revelers that included growing numbers of tourists (and the rise of new Afro-Bahian carnival forms with the *blocos afro* perhaps helped transform some of the spectators into carnival participants).

¹²⁷ "O julgamento da prefeitura não agradou ao Fantoches e ao C. da Vitória," *A Tarde* (Salvador), 27 February 1952.

¹²⁸ By 1954, one carnival journalist wrote that it would be better for the clubs to not participate at all than to present mediocre, undignified floats and themes: "If they are going to parade, they need to figure out how to do it properly" to honor the tradition of carnival in the *boa terra*. "Carnaval: Os clubes saem ou não saem?" *Diário de Notícias*, 10 February 1954.

producers to create themes or songs based on patriotic subjects, as in Rio de Janeiro, although judging requirements demanded that the schools be “true to the spirit of the genre” (which theoretically, at least, left some creative room for the development of *enredos*). This was another dimension of the government’s posture of relative distance from control of carnival in Salvador that facilitated notions of popular participation and the popular voice (expressed, increasingly, through consumer choice of paying to follow certain celebrity groups and buying certain records) in the festival after the military coup. As it played out, however, the creators of the *trio elétrico* and their next generation, who continue to perform at carnival in the family tradition, would remain more outside the market and be reliant on patronage from Salvador’s conservative political boss from the 1970s into the 1990s (a relationship they have freely admitted), which has left them more vulnerable to the shifting tides of political control in the city—as well as relegated them to sort of second-class status in the new terms of commercial prestige that are used, formally and informally, to assess Bahian carnival musicians.

The Rise of the Trio Elétrico

As I have noted, the basic story of the invention of the *trio elétrico* in 1951 is available in a wide range of academic and popular sources and it is not my intention to merely repeat it in excessive detail. Rather, the goal of this chapter is to both recontextualize that history and to provide new interpretations of its legacy in the contemporary period. In essence, I argue that the common analysis of the *trio elétrico* as an engine for the democratization of carnival is more directly traceable in the historical record well after the period of its creation, appearing first in the mid-late 1960s and afterward during the darkest days of the military dictatorship’s political and social

oppression. It was rejuvenated in 1974-5, coincidentally the start of the dictatorship's easing of censorship, surveillance, and some of the most draconian political restrictions under the presidency of relative moderate General Geisel,¹²⁹ and also the *jubileu de prata* (silver, 25th anniversary) of the original *trio* in Salvador, leading to unprecedented amounts of media coverage in Salvador and retrospectives of the phenomenon as well as the first LP recording made by the *trio* creators, which received ample local airplay. Locally, the broadbased discussions of carnival's unique character as eminently popular, both new and innovative as well as different from the carnivals of Rio de Janeiro and Recife, were not disconnected from tourism strategies.

At the same time, the fact that the *trio elétrico* featured electric instruments—a controversial point for Brazilian music purists—allowed it to fit in seamlessly with the burgeoning youth culture surrounding rock and roll, and that movement's associations with rebellion against authority and orthodoxy. This was a potent symbolic dimension as Geisel's long process of political decompression began. But for the guardians of Brazilian popular music, the electric guitar was deplorable on a variety of counts. As early as 1954, the first issue of the *Revista da Música Popular* carried (and implicitly endorsed) a two-page invective by prominent writer, artist and journalist Millôr Fernandes (1923-2012) against the instrument as strident, physically dangerous (due to voltage and trippable cords), and foppish: "It is an incongruence, and a threat."¹³⁰ Bahian music was represented in the magazine by Dorival Caymmi, who received several features and interviews between 1954 and 1956; and, perhaps oddly for not being a

¹²⁹ Thomas Skidmore, *The Politics of Military Rule in Brazil, 1964-85* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), chapter VI: "Geisel: Toward *Abertura*."

¹³⁰ "A pretexto de violão elétrico," *Revista da Música Popular* 1, September 1954. Fernandes, who wrote for *O Cruzeiro* and *Veja*, published this essay under the pseudonym Emmanuel Vão Gôgo.

purely musical form, *capoeira*.¹³¹ If the 1954 *RMP* essay characterized the electric guitar's danger as seductive modernity threatening precious tradition, later public opposition was cadged more directly in terms of the commercialized "foreign" music played on the instruments and seen as invading Brazil. A straight line was drawn between American rock, typified by Bill Haley & the Comets, the British Beatles, and Brazil's notorious rock band crafted by music executives, the Jovem Guarda featuring Roberto Carlos—a band whose made-for-TV image and assertively apolitical songs have long made them targets for cultural critics.¹³² Nationalists on the left and those on the right mobilized to defend what they saw as authentic Brazilian tradition, converging in a July 1967 street demonstration against the electric guitar in São Paulo, organized by the television channel TV Record.¹³³ Notably, Caetano Veloso, an important champion of the *trio elétrico* who would soon help bring it to national attention, did not participate (while figures such as Chico Buarque and Gilberto Gil did); but the fact that the event did not acknowledge the presence of electric instruments in Salvador's carnival indicates a simple lack of awareness of their "grassroots" origin and adoption there in that context, or perhaps the longstanding societal ambivalence (seen in the folklore movement and elsewhere) towards carnival's relations with authentic popular culture and identity throughout the rest of the year. But as the political opening proceeded in the 1970s and new generations of Bahian musicians established careers both during and outside carnival, becoming celebrities themselves, antagonistic postures toward foreign music

¹³¹ "Do Folclore Afrobahiano: A capoeira," *Revista da Música Popular* 6, March-April 1955.

¹³² Critics habitually contrast the Jovem Guarda's songs of teen romance and angst with the more sophisticated and occasionally politically engaged period work of Gilberto Gil, Caetano Veloso, and Chico Buarque; for instance, Dunn, *Brutality Garden*, and Charles A. Perrone, *Masters of Contemporary Brazilian Song: MPB, 1965-1985* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1989).

¹³³ Cristina Romanelli, Especial guitarra elétrica: Yes, nós temos guitarra," www.revistadahistoria.com.br, accessed 24 May 2012.

were also easing. In the 1970s, the cultural and aesthetic exchanges between worlds of rock music and Bahian carnival music began in earnest (while also, as we will see, younger musicians began to combine the *frevo* of the *trios* with Afro-Bahian percussive elements from the *afoxés*)—similarly to the way international music, especially calypso, reggae, and other Caribbean rhythms, would be absorbed in the 1980s.

In 1968, an observer described *trios* as potent nodes of social congregation: “Bahian carnival really owes a great debt to the *trio elétricos* that parade throughout carnival, *arrastando* [inducing, dragging] seas of people to dance and sing along with the contagious electric guitars.”¹³⁴ In the mid-1970s, local media was emphatically asserting that Salvador’s carnival was “the best in the world” due to the “*trio elétrico*, which has become its principal trait,”¹³⁵ and implying that the *trio elétrico* (“great animator of Bahian carnival”) was somehow responsible for fostering an era of social involvement and associative spirit in the cultural realm that was unattainable in politics or civil society: “Carnival in recent years has been characterized by growing numbers of people participating in the street *folgedos*, whether accompanying the *trios* or joining *blocos*, *cordões*, *afoxés*, or samba schools, or forming their own groups and clubs in the neighborhoods... This participation has intensified year by year and involves all the social classes.”¹³⁶ Ironically, soon after, the decade of the 1980s would witness not only a return to political democracy at the national level and the expansion of Brazil’s celebrity-driven culture industry, but locally there would be a formidable reassertion of class and race distinction as a structural factor organizing Salvador’s carnival, as private

¹³⁴ “Trio Elétrico Jacaré e Cavalheiros de Bagadad ganharam menção honrosa,” *Estado da Bahia*, 28 February 1968.

¹³⁵ “Jubileu do trio elétrico, despedida de Dodô e Osmar,” *Diário de Notícias*, 06 October 1974.

¹³⁶ “O carnaval de ontem, o carnaval de hoje,” *Diário de Notícias*, 09-12 February 1975.

organizations and clubs hired autonomous bands as attractions, charged hefty entrance fees, and reintroduced the rope keeping poorer spectators out to maintain the symbolic exclusivity of their revelry. But the model established by the founders of the *trio elétrico*—musicians playing amplified music based on the innovation of hybridized styles on moving vehicles, and (starting in the mid-1970s) song lyrics based on key tropes such as extolling the unique culture of Bahia, praising the power of the masses (and the euphoria of being assembled together on the street), and endorsing the opportunities for liberty offered by carnival—would be widely influential and taken in directions by entrepreneurs, politicians, and tourism boosters that the founders never imagined. “It’s an illusion to think that you can make money with the *trio elétrico*,” said Osmar in 1975,¹³⁷ but, unlike in Rio and Recife, carnival in Salvador was consolidating as a year-round business model of satisfying customer tastes.

The founders of the *trio* were a pair of part-time musicians and trade professionals, friends and frequent band-mates long before their intervention in Bahian carnival. Osmar Macedo (1923-1997) was a mechanical engineer, and Adolfo (Dodô) Antônio do Nascimento (?-1978) was an electrician and radio technician. After 1967 they started their own business, participating in large projects such as the construction and stage infrastructure of the Castro Alves Theater in central Salvador, and the Ponte do Funil bridge connecting Itaparica island to the mainland. “As with the *trio elétrico*, we worked together, combining mechanics with electronics, always getting involved in things that would be called pioneering,” Osmar recalled with pride.¹³⁸ In the 1930s, Dodô had performed in a local band called Os Três e Meio with Dorival Caymmi, until the

¹³⁷ “Parabéns para Dodô e Osmar: Eles são o carnaval da Bahia,” *Jornal da Bahia*, 09 September 1975.

¹³⁸ “Dois bons operários,” *Jornal da Bahia*, 09 September 1975.

latter's departure for Rio de Janeiro in 1938 led to a restructuring of the group and the entrance of Osmar.¹³⁹ The friends would become notorious for devising their own electric instruments some years later, but a book by Caymmi's granddaughter, Stella Caymmi, states that Dodô suggested to Caymmi earlier, around 1934-5, that Caymmi could get more volume out of his acoustic guitar by installing a pick-up and attaching a speaker to it (the suggestion, involving drilling a hole in the instrument, was rejected).¹⁴⁰

Whatever their initial conceptions of adding electrical amplification to string instruments, it was after seeing a performance in 1941 by Rio-based violinist Benedito Chaves that their efforts took a new turn. The violinist was using a simple form of amplification that was newsworthy at the time, but, being based on a small live microphone inserted into the violin's body, and a separate amplifier, his performance was wracked by the high-pitch squeals of feedback.¹⁴¹ They met with the violinist after the show, and exchanged ideas. Subsequently, in his spare time, Dodô applied himself in earnest to the problem of amplifying an acoustic guitar and *cavaquinho* (small four-string guitar) without creating feedback, trying different microphone types and positions. Ultimately he realized that the problem was the instruments' hollow resonating chamber, overwhelming the microphone with sound and echoes, creating a feedback loop. He replaced the microphone with a magnetic pick-up less sensitive to ambient noise.¹⁴²

¹³⁹ Góes, *O País do Carnaval Elétrico*, 26.

¹⁴⁰ Stella Caymmi, *Dorival Caymmi: O Mar e o Tempo* (São Paulo: Editora 34 Ltda, 2001), 90.

¹⁴¹ Góes, *O País do Carnaval Elétrico*, 27.

¹⁴² In the United States, Les Paul devised his own electric guitar around 1940, but was unable to market it for some time. The first Gibson Les Paul appeared on the market in 1952, two years after the Fender Telecaster was launched in 1950, which was the first electric guitar widely available commercially in the U.S. Defenders of the idea of an independent Bahian invention of the electric guitar point to that fact, adding that—as Osmar told Góes in 1979—American soldiers in Salvador in 1942 and 1943 shared Sears and Roebuck catalogs with the two friends which showed the state-of-the-art electric instruments still built on the microphone system Chaves had used. Moraes Moreira, who joined Dodô and Osmar's *trio* in 1974, believes it safe to cite the date of 1945 for the completion of Dodô's first successful electric instrument, and

There is a famous story that the pair struck out immediately for Primavera, a music store in the Praça da Sé (which is still there today), asked for the finest guitar and *cavaquinho* in stock, and—before paying for them, which led to a tense moment with the clerk—broke the resonators off the necks, since it was the solid necks of the instruments that would form the basis for their new electric guitar and so-called *pau elétrico* (electric stick).¹⁴³ They often incorporated the instruments into their dance club and radio station performances during the 1940s, in which sambas, *chorinhos*, waltzes, and tangos were the order of the day. In different interviews, Osmar reported the year of Dodô's invention of an electric guitar as 1946¹⁴⁴ and 1943.¹⁴⁵

Relying as it does on oral evidence, the historical record of precisely when and how the *trio elétrico* entered Salvador's carnival is ambiguous. Moraes Moreira states that one night during 1950 carnival, the two friends put together an act as a duo, calling themselves the *dupla elétrica*; they set out to play classic *frevos* and classical European pieces adapted to the uptempo syncopations of *frevo* in a 1929 Ford car, used for transporting materials to and from Osmar's workshop, on which they had outfitted loudspeakers and which was driven by a friend. (Osmar recalled that they used the name Dupla Elétrica earlier, during the latter half of the 1940s.¹⁴⁶) According to Moreira's account, for several years before they took the steep *ladeira da montanha* (mountain road) up to the Praça Castro Alves and the principal carnival route in the business district in 1950, they had performed in and out of carnival season in streets close to home in the

similarly argues that its creation in Bahia was achieved with no knowledge of any foreign models (*Sonhos Elétricos*, 53-5).

¹⁴³Osmar later joked that they smashed the large resonators because “in that era, somebody with a musical instrument riding the streetcar on Monday morning was viewed as a vagabond.” *Frente a Frente: Osmar Macedo*, IRDEB / TVE, 1997.

¹⁴⁴“O chão e meu, o sol é seu.”

¹⁴⁵“Osmar Macedo: ‘Trio independente para o povão está acabando,’” *Correio da Bahia*, 17 February 1996.

¹⁴⁶“Osmar Macedo: ‘Trio independente para o povão está acabando.’”

lower city. When they did join the main carnival celebration, in 1950, the idea of having a third musician had been rejected for fear of overwhelming their home-made amplification system on the Ford, so they were not yet a trio.¹⁴⁷ But a decisive element in every account of the creation of the *trio elétrico* was the pair's participation in the ecstatic local response when Recife's famous *frevo* club Vassourinhas, on their way to Rio de Janeiro to perform in carnival there, paraded in Salvador a week before carnival on 29 January 1951. According to Góes, who interviewed Osmar in 1979, it was only after seeing Vassourinhas perform that the two friends devised an amplification system for the car, in order to use it a few days later.¹⁴⁸ But several early and influential works on the history of Salvador's carnival reported the appearance by the Vassourinhas as occurring in 1950, not 1951.¹⁴⁹ Caetano Veloso's memoir places the Vassourinhas visit even further back, "in 1948 or 1949."¹⁵⁰ Such as it is, most of the literature and media focus on Salvador's carnival began to appear only around the leadup to the silver anniversary of the *trio elétrico*, which was itself celebrated incorrectly in 1975's carnival, adding to the confusion regarding events that had taken place over twenty years before.

The travelling Vassourinhas *frevo* club—an orchestra composed of brass, some woodwinds, and basic marching percussion, which has been described as either 150-, 70-, or 65-strong—arrived in Salvador on the ship Pedro II at the invitation of either Rádio

¹⁴⁷ Moreira, *Sonhos Elétricos*, 67-8.

¹⁴⁸ Góes, *O País do Carnaval Elétrico*, 17-8.

¹⁴⁹ Góes suggests Osmar remembered it as 1950, and he did not verify the date; the error is also in Anísio Felix and Moacir Nery, *Bahia, Carnaval* (Salvador: Artes Gráfica, 1993). Macedo himself repeats the error in his 1996 interview in the *Correio da Bahia* ("Osmar Macedo"). Most gravely, errors exist in the 2010 documentary video compiled by TV Educadora / Instituto de Radiodifusão Educativa da Bahia (IRDEB), *Caminhão da Alegria – 60 Anos de Trio Elétrico*. Bahian musician Gilberto Gil recollects that the first time he saw a *trio elétrico* was in 1950; and Orlando Campos, an influential *trio* entrepreneur in the 1960s through the 1980s, claims that Vassourinhas came to Salvador in 1950.

¹⁵⁰ Caetano Veloso, *Tropical Truth: A Story of Music and Revolution in Brazil*, trans. Isabel de Sena (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002), 299.

Sociedade or Bahia's governor, Octavio Mangabeira.¹⁵¹ Osmar recalled being part of what a journalist called the "over 100,000 people who followed the Pernambucans in an indescribable state of enthusiasm and animation... Everyone loudly proclaimed that Rádio Sociedade could be proud for having arranged a party that not even carnival could match in attracting people to the streets. This was the greatest human mass that has ever been recorded in the city."¹⁵² The exultation was apparently such that Vassourinhas could not reach the end of their route, at the Praça da Sé. Near the Governor's Palace, situated before the entrance to the Praça, the crowding and shoving began to dissolve the parade itself, and the musicians were swallowed into the waves of revelers. "Some of their instruments were damaged, and a few of the members got hurt themselves," suffering bruises and split lips as they fought their way back to Praça Castro Alves and beat a retreat down the mountain road to the lower city. "The avenue was so full, we couldn't do a thing," reported the chief of Vassourinhas, who still affirmed "in spite of all, we can only thank the Bahian people for this warm reception, beyond all our expectations."¹⁵³

The Trio Elétrico Joins Bahian Carnival

Research into the origins of the *trio elétrico* is complicated by the fact that Osmar's family does not have a significant collection of early documents. His son Aroldo told me that his father "did not hold onto papers, letters, clippings, receipts; he'd throw

¹⁵¹ Góes (*O País do Carnaval Elétrico*, 17) states it was the governor's initiative and that the group had 150 members, while a period newspaper article attributes the idea to Rádio Sociedade but the financial support to the governor, and states there were 70 musicians ("A maior massa humana jamais vista na Bahia," *Diário de Notícias*, 30 January 1951). Another period piece, "O povo envolveu o 'Vassourinhas' numa carinhoso recepção" (*A Tarde*, 30 January 1951), also cited 70 musicians, lending credence to the conclusion that decades later, in his interview with Góes, Osmar's memory amplified what he had seen and heard. If he meant to say that there were 150 people total in the touring entourage, with 70 musicians and 80 dancers, that is not clear from any documentation I have seen. Leonardo Dantas Silva cites 65 musicians, "a fraction of the Pernambuco Military Police Band under the baton of Lieutenant João Cícero," in "O frevo invade Salvador," <http://revivendomusicas.com.br/curiosidades>, accessed 08 February 2012.

¹⁵² "A maior massa humana jamais vista na Bahia."

¹⁵³ "O povo envolveu o 'Vassourinhas' numa carinhoso recepção."

them away, lose them, or give them to any journalist who showed up asking questions.”¹⁵⁴ Although the historical record is unclear regarding when Dodô and Osmar first used electric instruments outside or during carnival, for the two friends, seeing how Vassourinhas broke up Salvador’s routine festival structure with an improptu, delirious street celebration provided a catalyst. The dual-speakered, hand-painted 1929 Ford *fobica* the pair had used in 1951 gave way to a larger Chrysler pick-up truck in 1952, modified in their home workshops to hold a gas-powered generator for the instrument amplifier as well as eight speakers, and decorated with eight fluorescent lights; they were also joined by a third electrified musician, engineer Temístocles Aragão on tenor guitar (joining Dodô’s lower-register *pau elétrico*, which would be replaced by an electric bass guitar in 1976, and Osmar’s high-pitched *guitarra baiana*).¹⁵⁵ Parading slowly, surrounded by a walking percussion section, their repertoire was based on classic *frevo*s as well as their own *frevo* versions of popular and classical melodies. The growth and influence of their creation can be measured a number of ways: by 1952, only the second year of the actual *trio elétrico*, Dodô and Osmar had been invited to perform at the mid-Lent *micareta* carnival-style celebration¹⁵⁶ in the nearby town of Feira de Santana; had attracted private sponsorship to aid in the expenses associated with their carnival performance; and had stimulated the creation of other similar electrified carnival groups. By 1974 it was estimated that every town in the Bahian interior had “at least one *trio*” of its own.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁴ Aroldo Macedo, personal communication, 09 January 2012, Salvador, Bahia.

¹⁵⁵ Góes, *O País do Carnaval Elétrico*, 36, 50.

¹⁵⁶ The *micaretas* in neighboring cities (and even other states) will be further explored in the next chapter, since by the 1970s they were an important part of many *trios*’ business models, and were also being advertized to tourists. Notably, according to Jorge Amado, Salvador itself used to have a distinct “*Micareta* or *Micareme*... a subspecies of carnival, with serpentines, parades, and confetti. It is tending toward disappearance” (*Bahia de Todos os Santos*, 148). Rather than disappearing outright, it may have been absorbed into the creeping carnivalization of the already heavily festive months of February and March.

¹⁵⁷ “Batam palmas e agradeçam ao primeiro Trio Elétrico.”

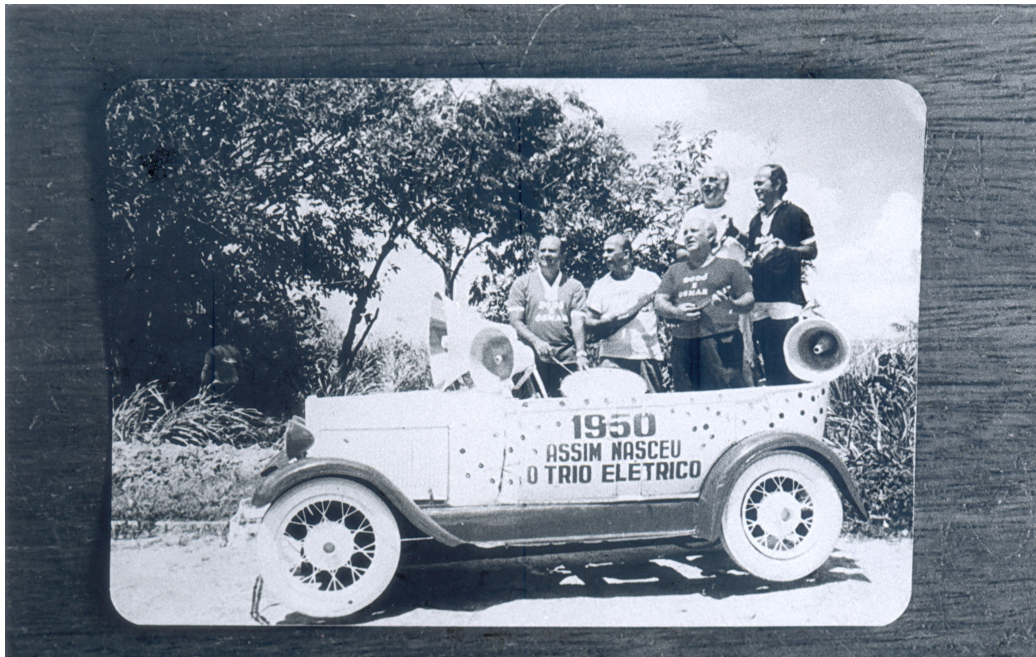


Figure 3: A 1970s image of Dodô (second from left) and Osmar (front), in their first *trio elétrico*. The vehicle bears the wrong date. Source: Fundação Gregório de Mattos, Salvador.

Quem quiser usar o Amuim de sua casa, para retardar a solução do problema
ligar e da sua influência, para retardar a solução do problema
guaraneira no Brasil. x x x

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DIAS:
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Em cada programa FRATELLI VITA oferece Cr\$1.000,00
para as melhores batucadas, cordões e blocos carnavalescos

GUARANA FRATELLI VITA é guaraná

Figure 4: An advertisement for “Carnival in the Neighborhoods,” sponsored by Fratelli Vita, featuring the “Famous *Trio Elétrico*.” Source: *Diário de Notícias*, 14 February 1954.

At least as early as 1954, Dodô and Osmar joined the Fratelli Vita-sponsored “Carnival in the Neighborhoods” program, performing alongside the Rádio Sociedade luminaries with all the trappings of confetti and *lança perfumes* in such areas as Rio Vermelho, Pituba, Liberdade, and Barra. That prizes were offered for “the best *batucada*” suggests that these were not merely spectacles for the local public, but a chance for locals to perform as well.¹⁵⁸ Along the 1950s, the rise in popularity of the *trio* format and the unstructured public revelry it fostered surely owed as much to the decline of the private clubs’ once-lavish and orderly parade spectacles as to the novelty of the *trio* itself. The character of Salvador’s carnival was already in flux, with the clubs’ ostentation giving in to financial pressure¹⁵⁹ at the same time that a new generation of *afoxés* (sometimes referred to generically as *cordões* in period journalism) was also becoming a marked presence on the street. The only constant was the presence of samba schools and *batucadas*—still called the “high point” of Salvador’s festival in 1956, “similar to the samba school parade of *carioca* carnival”¹⁶⁰—although their future would be widely in doubt by the early 1970s. But the *trio* format of a mobile, amplified band—with ample space on the vehicle for brands or slogans—was immediately adopted into projects from advertising product launches to political campaigns. Dodô and Osmar did not actively pursue this use of the *trio* as a moneymaking scheme throughout the year, but neither did

¹⁵⁸ Advertisement, *Diário de Notícias*, 07 February 1954.

¹⁵⁹ In 1956, for example, only two of the three clubs participated in carnival even though the city offered 100,000 *crúzeiros* in support to each; a journalist noted that “The high prices of everything that is indispensable for an allegorical parade left the great and small clubs with very humble presentations, lacking the luxury of yesteryear.” “Os préstamos alegóricos,” *A Tarde* (Salvador), 13 February 1952.

¹⁶⁰ “O desfile dos cordões, blocos e batucadas,” *A Tarde* (Salvador), 13 February 1956. At around the same time, *trios elétrico* were getting mentioned in the newspapers as well; the city would be sending its own *trio* out to the streets in 1957 “for the greater animation of vassals of King Momo.” “Carnaval,” *Diário de Notícias*, 26 January 1957.

they criticize those who did. If anything, their comments reveal a sense of being flattered at how the *trio* was adopted and adapted to new uses.

The *trio* provided a novel opportunity for the occupation of public spaces and spontaneous, free-form dancing that, given the growing numbers of people involved, could become charged with a liberating, exhilarating or even potentially threatening energy. Góes observes that “While one refers to the crowds following Recife’s *frevo* bands as ‘waves,’ the human masses accompanying a *trio* are described as ‘pulsations,’ because, as they jump and elbow each other, they seem in their diversity to be experiencing a uniform vibration, driven by the music—as though the very street beneath them had an electrical charge.”¹⁶¹ He cites a 1979 tourist guidebook prepared by the state telecommunications company Telebahia that cautions visitors, “The dance of the *trio elétrico* is almost like a fight, violent and unpredictable; you enter it with full willingness, or stay out. If you remain still the masses will swallow you, so you must protect your space and balance with frenetic use of the elbows, arms, legs, and entire body”¹⁶² This emphasis on the force of the collective was given a different interpretation by Hildegardes Viana in one of her few carnival newspaper pieces dealing with current events; she lamented the increasing atomization of the festival, and the resulting lack of unity: “Our carnival is in a cycle of its evolution in which each person puts his individuality above anything else. No one fights to defend the reputation or honor of a club like the Fantoches or Cruz Vermelha anymore... What the people seem to like are

¹⁶¹ Góes, *O País do Carnaval Elétrico*, 43.

¹⁶² Góes, *O País do Carnaval Elétrico*, 46. Identical text appears earlier, in a 1976 article on the carnival of the *trios* in Bahia’s state tourism magazine *ViverBahia*, and was likely borrowed from there: “A magia do som no multidão,” *ViverBahia* #29, February 1976, 3.

the *trios elétrico*, and while they are busy watching the bands on cars, they aren't paying attention to the other traditional groups who walk on foot."¹⁶³

This perceived phenomenon of the strength of the masses, of spontaneous congregation and collective participation, was developing years before the onset of the dictatorship's restrictions on the political voice and public assembly. The prohibitions imposed after 1964 or 1968 did not create Salvador's carnival of popular participation, but recast its significance locally and nationally, especially (as we will see in the next chapter) when Caetano Veloso popularized the carnival at the same time he was being threatened with imprisonment and exile in 1969. Some later critics view Brazilian carnival in general as a form of "bread and circus" to entertain and defuse the masses; but if Edison Carneiro was right in suggesting that the development of a national interest in folklore was related to a period of Brazilian self-reckoning based on "re-constitutionalization of the country in democratic form" after the fall of Vargas's New State in 1945,¹⁶⁴ perhaps the era of populist democracy under Kubitschek (1956-61) was reflected in the 1957 decision by Salvador's city hall to make its carnival song competition decided by public vote, not a panel of authorities: "Abandoning the normal contest modes, this year it will be truly popular. The people [*povo*] are the ones who will declare which song they most like, and a commission will merely proclaim the people's choice as the winner. After all, no festival belongs as much to the people as does carnival, and it is just that they choose their own music."¹⁶⁵

Clearly, as much as guardians of high culture and morality were concerned with the profane or ribald excesses of carnival, the festival was also inflected by observers

¹⁶³ "O assunto é carnaval," *A Tarde* (Salvador), 8 February 1969.

¹⁶⁴ Carneiro, *O Folclore Nacional*, 19.

¹⁶⁵ "Carnaval," *Diário de Notícias*, 26 January 1957.

with deeper currents of social and civic values. The discursive link between Salvador's carnival and democratic ideals—casting carnival as an opportunity to exercise and affirm democratic values—was recently echoed by Moraes Moreira, who joined Dodô and Osmar as the *trio*'s first singer in 1974: “Ever since I first climbed on top of the *trio*, carnival has been very serious for me—not just wild gambols, but a mission, a great responsibility. Carnival in Bahia is about culture, the manifestation of sentiments and anxieties of a people who search for their liberation in the plazas and streets of the city, occupying them, ideally, in the most democratic forms possible.”¹⁶⁶ However, in the beginning, Dodô and Osmar were ostensibly more inspired to recreate for themselves the enthusiastic popular reception of the Vassourinhas that they had witnessed than to “democratize” carnival, in the term often used in retrospectives such as the works by Góes¹⁶⁷ that posit distinct “poor” and “rich” carnivals in the early 1950s which the *trio elétrico* seemed intended to bridge as a sociological imperative.¹⁶⁸ A 1996 interview with Osmar takes this opposition for granted, when the journalist affirms that “Before the *trio elétrico*, carnival was dichotimized into two parts: people of means who celebrated in the clubs and in ostentatious parades, and the rest of the population who just watched... ‘Popular’ carnival, per sé, did not exist anymore, and you changed that.”¹⁶⁹

Although this chapter argues that that account is not fully supported by research in Salvador's carnival around 1950, and is more the product of how Salvador's carnival appeared in later years (1973-4 onward), I asked Osmar's son Armandinho what he thought Dodô and Osmar had in mind when they created their *trio*—whether they were

¹⁶⁶ Moreira, *Sonhos Elétricos*, 129.

¹⁶⁷ *O País do Carnaval Elétrico; 50 Anos do Trio Elétrico* (Salvador: Corrupio, 2000).

¹⁶⁸ Another common oppositional class-based framework later applied to Salvador's pre-*trio* carnival is “salon” versus “street.” Miguez de Oliveira, *Carnaval Baiano*, 80-1.

¹⁶⁹ “Osmar Macedo: ‘Trio independente para o povão está acabando.’”

deliberately trying to democratize the festival. He appeared bemused, and I had to rephrase the question: were they trying to bring rich and poor, black and white together, to make carnival less divided? He shook his head: “They didn’t have any of that in mind. They had nothing in mind! They were musicians. They just wanted to play, and they wanted to make people happy. The amplification allowed them to be heard by more people.”¹⁷⁰ Sources suggest that Dodô in particular was personally consumed with overcoming the problem of feedback, and once he had made that technical achievement, it provided new performance opportunities the friends explored in and out of carnival. One of Osmar’s most direct public references in the years before 1990 to carnival’s intersection with Salvador’s class society appeared in his notes to the 1978 Trio Elétrico Dodô & Osmar LP *Ligação*, which were an emotional homage to Dodô, recently deceased: “15 June 1978, Dodô, my friend and partner since 1938, passed away... He helped me provide the greatest happiness that the poor people of Bahia can enjoy. The masses, abandoned by good fortune, can count only on their *pelada* [jumping and dancing] and the *trio elétrico* for their few moments of pleasure.”¹⁷¹

This is not to suggest that Dodô and Osmar were detached from questions of Salvador’s extreme socioeconomic inequalities. That is hardly the case, since they long asserted, just as their familial successors continue to do, that their *trio* should be free and open for anyone to enjoy during carnival without admission fees (hence their reliance on external funding, principally government patronage since the 1970s). Rather, for Osmar, who engaged the media more than Dodô, his usual habit was to emphasize the positive about life in Bahia in his public statements, just as in his carnival music. But Osmar’s

¹⁷⁰ Armandinho Macedo, personal communication, 6 January 2012, Salvador.

¹⁷¹ “Minha homenagem,” liner notes to *Ligação* (Continental: 1-07-702-146), 1978.

reference to carnival as being a moment for the poor to enjoy was also a way to distinguish his “independent” *trio* from the growing number of others in the 1970s who worked under lucrative contracts with private carnival organizations (*blocos*) who paraded within a circle of thick rope to separate member-revelers from the public (the so-called *pipoca*). The appearance of exclusively-priced private carnival clubs on the street by the late 1970s was occurring at the same time as the military regime’s decompression and the slow return to political democracy, lending a subtle incoherence to characterizations of Salvador’s carnival as being based purely on popular participation. But this is also a result of the varying definitions contained in the word “popular,” its multivalence offering the discursive opportunity to elide apparent inconsistencies in its practical application. The new twist came from the rise of Brazil’s culture industry and tourism and leisure industries (boosted by the country’s economic growth in the early 1970s), such that the consensus around Salvador carnival’s popular participation was easily fit into preexisting ideological frameworks surrounding consumer “endorsement” and the “equating of markets with democracy”¹⁷² at a time when the political system was still widely viewed as tainted and suspect.

“Democracies” in Conflict: The Reaction Against Salvador’s Samba Schools

The growth and notoriety of the *trios elétrico* in Salvador’s carnival stimulated a reaction against the city’s samba schools as not being properly representative of local culture. Although no fewer than fourteen local samba schools participated in carnival in 1969, and their competition was said by one journalist to be “the center of the revelers’

¹⁷² The phrase is from Frank, *One Market Under God*, 15. McCann describes the way both state and corporate realms in Brazil were invested in the creation and study of consumers, as far back as the 1940s, and how they “subscribed to the fervent belief in advertising and market research as the supreme forces of democracy and modernity” (*Hello Hello Brazil*, 215).

attention, due to their considerable organization and high-quality themes,”¹⁷³ Salvador’s schools faced an uncertain future. Sutursa director Tourinho’s negative opinions of them were expressed as part of a 1973 round table on carnival generally, and the samba schools in particular, sponsored by the local newspaper *A Tarde* and that brought together representatives from Sutursa, the Federation of Carnival Clubs, and the biggest local schools.¹⁷⁴ In the early 1970s, news reporting on carnival indicate the existence of around ten samba schools participating in carnival competitions, which represented a steep decline from what may have been as many as twenty active schools in the city in the mid-1960s. The city’s first samba school appeared in the early 1950s, when Batucada Nega Maluca restructured into the Escola de Samba Ritmistas do Samba.¹⁷⁵ The schools Juventude de Garcia and Filhos do Tororó also had origins in the less thematically organized *batucadas*. In 1969, when the *trios elétrico* were commanding the unstructured “popular” realms of Salvador’s carnival mostly on the strength of private advertisers, there was still the rule that licensed, official *batucadas* and samba schools as well as *afoxés* were prohibited from incorporating “any commercial propaganda whatsoever.”¹⁷⁶ This clearly left them at an economic disadvantage based on vaguely-defined notions of folkloric or traditional veracity, and it presented a sharper contrast between economic models within a single carnival than what was occurring in Rio or Recife.

¹⁷³ “Vencedores,” *Estado da Bahia*, 19 February 1969. The schools listed were Filhos do Tororó, Diplomatas de Amaralina, Bafa da Onça, Filhos do Morro, Juventude de Garcia, Juventude da Boa Viagem, Calouros do Samba, Filhos do Barbalho, Ritmo da Liberdade, Filhos da Liberdade, Juventude do vale do Canela, O Abafa, Mocidade em Mangueira, and Juventude da Cidade Nova e Politeama.

¹⁷⁴ “Debate: Até que ponto é viável a extinção das escolas de samba?” *A Tarde* (Salvador), 28 February 1973.

¹⁷⁵ Antonio Jorge Victor dos Santos, “Raízes e Traições da Música Afro-Carnavalesca Contemporânea (A Importância da Música Baiana no Processo de Legitimação da Cultura Negra),” Masters thesis, Federal University of Bahia (1997), 161. The author interviewed Archimedes da Silva, a founding member and president of the Federation of Carnival Clubs, who noted that a key distinction between the two types of groups that had to be maintained was in the percussion section: “Batucadas did not use the loud, bass-heavy *surdo* (large bass drum) or snare drum; they used smaller drums and lots of hand instruments instead.”

¹⁷⁶ “Normas para os concursos de escolas de samba e batucadas,” *A Tarde* (Salvador), 10 February 1969.

Reflecting the criticism levied against Rio's samba schools post-1964, when their organized-crime patrons fostered hyper-patriotic cultural expression to please (and distract) the military regime, Victor dos Santos suggests that Salvador's samba schools, especially after the coup, were "privileged targets of clientelistic support from people in power, producing in consequence of these relationships social and historical discourses that did not reflect the interests and desires of their black, poorly educated, serially underemployed participants."¹⁷⁷ These discourses included *enredo* themes and songs that affirmed Brazil as a racial democracy, a land of equality and equal opportunity regardless of history; as an example, he cites the 1971 *enredo* of the Filhos do Tororó, "Canto de Louvor a uma Raça (Praise Song to a Race)," written by Ederaldo Gentil, including the lines "From the revolts and the *quilombos* / From the doldrums of oppression / The negroes freed themselves / And are today the nation's pride."¹⁷⁸ However, it should be noted that the song lyrics specify that the slaves freed themselves, rather than praising Princess Isabel for the Golden Law of 1888, a subtle but clear assumption of agency. The wording of the city's judging requirements stipulated merely that an *enredo* theme had to be "within historical reality,"¹⁷⁹ which seems to have allowed this *enredo* as acceptable. Of course, the song's conclusion does counter any further revolutionary potential by implying that the nation holds Afro-Brazilians as heroes, and all's well that ends well.

Victor dos Santos makes a persuasive case for explaining the parallel rise in patriotic *enredos* among samba schools in post-coup Salvador, where the influence of

¹⁷⁷ Victor dos Santos, "Raízes e Traições da Música Afro-Carnavalesca Contemporânea," 164.

¹⁷⁸ Victor dos Santos, "Raízes e Traições da Música Afro-Carnavalesca Contemporânea," 165. Another *enredo* that seems to reflect interests other than those of the typical member of a samba school in the era was the 1970 *enredo* of Salvador's Filhos do Morro on abolitionist poet Castro Alves, "Vida e Amores de Castro Alves" written by Celso Santana Oliveira ("Oh! Minha Bahia / The pride of our Brazil / Birthplace of Castro Alves / Genius of poetry..."). "Os Filhos do Morro têm samba enrêdo pronto para o carnaval," *A Tarde* (Salvador), 28 January 1970.

¹⁷⁹ "Normas para os concursos de escolas de samba e batucadas."

organized crime such as that of Rio de Janeiro was relatively insignificant but, unlike in Rio, Afro-Brazilians were the majority of the population. Direct encouragement from private elite (perhaps political) sponsors seems one of the likeliest ways to explain the *enredo* choice of the Diplomatas de Amaralina in 1969, gratefully praising the liberation of Brazil's slaves,¹⁸⁰ or its theme in 1974, "Casa Grande e Senzala," based on the work of Gilberto Freyre, architect of the theory of Brazil's racial democracy: "The negro is happy / He already can *samba* and sing... We Diplomatas praise / The strong arm of the negro who came from far away / To cultivate the crops / Of the rich plantation master / Fertilizing Brazilian soil / With the protection and blessing of the *orixás*."¹⁸¹ Perhaps displeasure with such conservative themes was driving the rising participation among young Afro-Bahians in new *blocos* like the *blocos de índio*, groups who also performed percussive sambas but who dressed as Hollywood Indians with feathers and war paint. The Apaches do Tororó was founded in 1968 and first appeared in carnival in 1969 with nearly 500 members, when they earned an "honorable mention" from judges; by 1975, they had well over 3000 parading members and a percussion section of 200.¹⁸²

In his public statement in 1973 against providing funds to support Salvador's samba schools, Sutursa director Tourinho made essentially two arguments: the samba schools did not reflect authentic local identity, since they were modeled directly on Rio's schools; and, with their staged and rehearsed parades before the judges, they detracted from the spontaneity of the street carnival unfolding around them. Noting that in 1973's carnival there were four first-class schools and three second-class schools, for a total of

¹⁸⁰ "Vencedores do carnaval baiano de 1969," *Estado da Bahia*, 19 February 1969.

¹⁸¹ " 'Casa Grande e Senzala,' o samba dos Diplomatas," *Diário de Notícias*, 22 February 1974.

Composers: Hamilton Lima, Salvador Oliveira, Luiz Fernando Pinto.

¹⁸² "Apaches: Uma festa de cores com 3500 homens na avenida," *Jornal da Bahia*, 02 February 1975.

seven,¹⁸³ “compared to nearly a hundred *cordões*, *blocos*, and *batucadas*,”¹⁸⁴ he implied that the surging popularity of the Apaches do Tororó signified the irrelevance of the samba schools. The Apaches in 1973 had been officially limited to 2,000 members after their 1972 carnival appearance was apparently marred by violence and looting, what Tourinho characterized as “some problems.”¹⁸⁵ There had been embarrassing public allegations of corruption, too; in 1971, the samba school Tororó protested that they had been placed in second class by an “incompetent” panel of judges whose president was “an honorary member of the school that received top honors.”¹⁸⁶ Other observers of the samba schools suggested that, in the contemporary Bahian milieu, they were either too much like Rio’s to be considered truly viable as authentic cultural manifestations,¹⁸⁷ or not enough like Rio’s in the administrative sense of functioning year-round with parties, rehearsals, and other events to constantly raise funds and enhance allegiances.¹⁸⁸

It is not clear that Tourinho made good on his declaration that the samba schools should not receive any funding from the city, but he may have tightened the spigot before Sutursa itself was done away with later in October 1973.¹⁸⁹ Most schools briefly trundled on while complaining about the inadequacy of the subsidies. Two of the largest and most prestigious schools, Filhos do Tororó and Diplomatas de Amaralina, were practically defunct by 1980. Just before carnival in 1974, Filhos do Tororó, the champion samba

¹⁸³ As in Rio, the official classification of schools was based on number of members. Typically, the larger schools were also the better funded from whatever sources were available, giving them an advantage in everything from music composition and performance to costuming.

¹⁸⁴ “Sutursa é contra as escolas de samba no carnaval de Salvador,”

¹⁸⁵ Newspaper reports appear to confirm this: the *Jornal da Bahia* of 17 February 1972 (“Carnaval: Maior festa do universo”) states that “wherever the Apaches passed, chaos broke out: fights, invasion of stores, vandalism, disorder in general. It was a pity.” Given that the demographic of the *bloco* was young black males, the reports likely reflect a mixture of fact and hyperbole.

¹⁸⁶ “Tororó não gostou do resultado,” *Diário de Notícias*, 26 February 1971.

¹⁸⁷ Hildegardes Vianna, “Escolas de Samba,” *A Tarde* (Salvador), 26 March 1973.

¹⁸⁸ “Debate: Até que ponto é viável a extinção das escolas de samba?”

¹⁸⁹ Bahiatursa took over most of the city’s tourism administration while its culture management went to the new Departamento de Folclore, Festas Populares, Certames, e Esportes (Queiroz, *Turismo na Bahia*, 116).

school of 1973, announced that it would not parade due to lack of financial conditions, even though it received a subsidy from city hall as well as the cash award of 7,500 *cruzeiros* for the 1973 victory.¹⁹⁰ The next year, the Diplomatas de Amaralina announced that that would be their last carnival parade due to lack of funding. Their president, noted Afro-Bahian geographer Milton Santos, explained that the city had promised them 20,000 *cruzeiros*, which did not approach the 80,000 *cruzeiros* necessary to mount a parade; “And that is to weep, since the city is spending 700,000 *cruzeiros* on decorations and is handing 50,000 more to each and every *trio elétrico*. But the samba schools also contribute to the brilliance of Bahian carnival.”¹⁹¹ It is possible he was exaggerating the degree of city hall’s support of the *trios elétrico*—or not; in 1973 Tapajós was offered 10,000 *cruzeiros*, although they too thought that was so small that they rejected it, in order to parade outside Salvador.¹⁹² The city may have upped its contribution to the *trios* after that embarrassment. At the state level Bahiaturisa was helping the samba schools, but only marginally: in 1976 the president of Acadêmicos do Ritmo, stunned at the small subsidy from the tourism authority that year (3,000 *cruzeiros*), returned it to Bahiaturisa in protest while acknowledging that without public support they were doomed.¹⁹³ In 1979, the last year for which I found records, only three schools participated in carnival: Ritmo da Liberdade, Acadêmicos do Samba, and Filhos da Liberdade.¹⁹⁴

Victor dos Santos calls attention to the 1972 Tororó composition “Festival of National Integration” (also written by Ederaldo Gentil) to suggest that the samba schools

¹⁹⁰ “Filhos do Tororó não saem. Falta dinheiro,” *Diário de Notícias*, 16 February 1974.

¹⁹¹ “Diplomatas de Amaralina desfila pela última vez,” *Diário de Notícias*, 14 January 1975.

¹⁹² “Ajuda foi fraca e trio Tapajós toca no Paraná,” *Diário de Notícias*, 23 February 1973.

¹⁹³ “Escolas: Dinheiro magro,” *Diário de Notícias*, 25 February 1976.

¹⁹⁴ “Saiu o resultado da Bahiaturisa: Bloco Alerta Mocidade é campeão,” *Diário de Notícias*, 02 March 1979.

were a key locus of a larger hegemonic project of defusing racial tension; he cites a local headline from 1972 that read “Carnival, a festival of the people that diminishes social differences.”¹⁹⁵ But half a dozen years later, the samba schools had mostly disappeared from Salvador’s carnival. This fact suggests the limits of private funding in actually underwriting all the costs of a major samba school presentation, although other carnival manifestations were certainly presenting tempting options for young Afro-Bahians—not only the *blocos de índio*, but, starting in the carnival of 1975, the pioneering *bloco afro* Ilê Aiyê, which over time developed a much sharper discourse of racial identity and pride through the celebration of African origins.

It also indicates that the rise of the *trio elétrico* provided a discursive means to fold poor Afro-Bahians (the vast majority of the Afro-Bahian population, then and now) into the larger color-blind category of the “*folião pipoca*,” the carnival reveler of little or no means who could follow the *trio elétrico* and *pular* or jump, hence the designation *pipoca* or popcorn, for free. Another news story, from 1969, boasts of the innovations of the *trio* and the broadbased animation around it, under the headline “Poor Revelers also Enjoy Carnival: Thousands in the Streets.”¹⁹⁶ In 1970, a newspaper article on the *trio* and carnival asserted in its title “The ground is mine, the sun is yours, and the *trio elétrico* belongs to the people”—underscoring the relationship between the *trio* and the symbolic space of collective assembly and participation.¹⁹⁷ Antônio Tourinho declared in 1973 that the *cordões* and *batucadas*, alongside the *trios elétrico*, were the entities “truly

¹⁹⁵ Victor dos Santos, “Raízes e Traições da Música Afro-Carnavalesca Contemporânea,” 166. Lyrics he transcribed include “In the festival of integration / There are native dances and songs / Customs of our land / Folklore with all its charms.”

¹⁹⁶ “Folião pobre também brina e muito o carnaval: Milhares foram as ruas,” *Estado da Bahia*, 19 February 1969.

¹⁹⁷ “O chão é meu, o sol é seu e o trio-elétrico é do povo,” *Jornal da Bahia*, 20 January 1970.

responsible for the public animation on the streets.”¹⁹⁸ In his view, the samba schools did not qualify for a number of reasons, perhaps even including their discourse of racial harmony, which nonetheless in its broaching of any racial difference whatsoever and Brazil’s long history of slavery might have suggested the potential for contemporary racial distinction and racial separatism. (The *afoxés*, with their celebration of African tradition and festive mysticism, would have been less controversial if still distasteful to Bahian observers with conservative views on race.) It is not difficult to perceive how the rhetoric of black pride and consciousness espoused by the first *bloco afro* Ilê Aiyê might have developed in part as a reaction to the racial pastoralism of the samba schools, although more research is needed into the early song lyrics and other cultural production of Ilê Aiyê. However, from the perspective of local hegemony, the *trios* themselves as culture producers were still viewed as colorblind and avoided this problem all together.

Notable here is the fact that, unlike in Recife’s debates over the presence of samba schools in local carnival, Salvador did not witness an open movement of the “white” middle class toward their schools, with the complex attendant forces of mediation, alienation, and artificiality alleged by Pernambucan observers. Salvador’s samba schools were widely understood as an Afro-Bahian form, implied discursively in a 1974 advertisement placed in the tourist magazine *ViverBahia* for the Casa Amarela restaurant offering “typical food” and “samba,” alongside a black mammy figure dressed in traditional *baiana* costume. Waldeloir Rêgo, folklorist / journalist / author and employee of Sutursa, was himself an Afro-Bahian, yet vociferously rejected the local schools: “the spirit of the Bahian carnival reveler is eminently participative, and it is clear that our samba schools are poor spectacles copied from Rio’s... they got off to a

¹⁹⁸ “Sutursa é contra as escolas de samba no carnaval de Salvador,”

graceless start around 1957 and remain inconsequential today.”¹⁹⁹ Rêgo’s comments were juxtaposed by *ViverBahia* with those of Archimedes da Silva, described as “a grinning creole” who was president of the Federation of Carnival Clubs. Silva defended the schools as an integral part of the “beauty” of Salvador’s carnival whose problems were strictly financial, not indicative of profound struggles over local identity. Also notable is the fact that, unlike in Recife, critics of the schools did not call for actual prohibitions against samba in carnival, or new regulations on the schools’ carnival performance, but merely the removal of public subsidies; this again demonstrates the general hands-off approach of Bahian officials toward carnival at the time. As things played out, however, several of the samba schools, notably the Juventude de Garcia, found a new source of income and recognition in the mid-1970s as they were fading from Salvador’s carnival: they were incorporated as a special feature into the *samba de roda* sessions offered to tourists, which were led by Ederaldo Gentil, Batatinha, Edil Pacheco and others, in a folkloric format that subtly but decisively both linked them to Bahian origins and the *samba de roda*, and eased them out of carnival proper. To the extent that Salvador’s samba schools became associated with folklore, the process was far less controversial than in Rio or Recife, due in part to the different directions of momentum in Salvador’s carnival, and the diminished stature of folklore itself.

The Trio Elétrico: Folklore, Business, or Both?

It should be emphasized that Dodô and Osmar’s carnival innovations were not motivated by entrepreneurial instincts. Although Dodô himself created in his workshop most of the electric string instruments used by other *trio* musicians in the 1950s, he sold them at cost and neither he nor Osmar patented anything, from instrument design to

¹⁹⁹ “A vez do rico samba das escolas,” *ViverBahia* vol. 29, February 1976.

electrification systems to the *trio* concept itself. The two friends were skilled professionals in their trades, and part-time musicians; they routinely invested money out-of-pocket in the development of their carnival apparatus and lost money, even though they received private sponsorship early on. They stopped participating in carnival after the festivities of 1960. As reasons, diverse secondary sources and interviews cite the death later that year of Osmar's father-in-law Armando Meireles, a *bon vivant* and eager instigator of their carnival experiments; and also the fact that it was getting expensive to keep up with all the other *trios*' investments in lights and sound.

In their professional work, as in their construction of equipment for Salvador's modern electrified carnival, their names were typically absent from the finished products. Osmar reflected on his vocation and avocation in 1975, "I have been decently paid for my work, which gave me economic stability and allowed me to pursue the *trio elétrico* as a hobby, without worrying about financial gain... For this, our *trio* is unique. We don't commercialize our *trio* for product launches or store openings or other such events, but those who do are doing something good for Bahia. At any rate, it's an illusion to think you can make money with a *trio elétrico*."²⁰⁰ Five years earlier, in 1970, he had been asked about the future of the *trio elétrico*, as well as the polemical question of electric guitars in Brazil. His responses reflect some remorse in the pair's lost opportunities for financial gain, but also pride in Bahia that (nearly) compensated—and a statement linking the nature of the *trio* to what Osmar understood as genuine local folklore.

Dodô is a poor man. If he had patented the guitars he invented, that would certainly not be true... He started making them in 1946, and only in 1956 did we hear about the electric guitars being invented and sold abroad. Now that should be enough for those that consider the Trio to be not authentic and anti-folkloric because of the guitars; those critics are ignorant of the fact that this type of

²⁰⁰ "Dois bons operários."

instrument was created here too... If I held the patent of the Trio, I would cede it to the city of Salvador for them to foment the development of more and more Trios, since I am relatively comfortable financially and the Trio-Elétrico was always a form of sport to me... With time the Trio-Elétrico will come to belong, if it does not already, to Bahian folklore. And the state of Bahia, working through its tourism departments, should take care because undoubtedly Trios will start to be built in other states too. It would be interesting if, when this occurs, each new Trio-Elétrico bears the emblem “Invented in Bahia.”²⁰¹

Osmar did not elaborate on his definition of folklore, nor how it would relate in a practical sense to the question of patents and royalties. In 1996, a year before his death, he denied rumors that interests in France had recently patented the *trio elétrico* after a *trio* performance in Paris by his son Armandinho and several other Bahian carnival musicians: “The French registered that form of street event, but not the *trio* itself, which is in the public domain and can no longer be patented by anybody.” He did also state that if he had predicted the global phenomenon his creation would become, he would have “taken out a patent and become rich.”²⁰² In general terms, however, his sense of the *trio* as folklore corresponds in key ways to conceptions of folklore publicly debated by folklorists. As early as 1957, in his book *Sabedoria Popular*, Edison Carneiro had suggested that earlier definitions of folklore as “traditional, anonymous, and popular” were no longer sufficient to characterize the plurality of the Brazilian national experience, especially given the rapid rates of growth and change in cities.²⁰³ For Osmar, the *trio* and the amplified instruments were proudly artisanal products, made by hand at home for a specific festival event, and significantly in terms of the folklorists’ state-framed regionalization of culture, Bahian-made. These (new) traditions were being passed down to the families’ next generations, principally Armandinho and his three

²⁰¹ “O chão é meu, o sol é seu.”

²⁰² “Osmar Macedo: ‘Trio independente para o povão está acabando.’”

²⁰³ Carneiro, *Sabedoria Popular*, 21-3.

brothers, who would come to play important musical and organizational roles in the *trio* starting in the 1970s. The whole endeavor was viewed as something that was done for its own sake, not for financial gain. For Dodô, according to Moraes, this aversion to the profit motive even extended even to royalties paid to the group once Moraes, a professional musician, made a national hit on a solo record in 1976 by adding lyrics to the tune “Pombo-Correio [Carrier Pigeon]” that Dodô and Osmar had composed in 1952 and included in instrumental form on their debut LP in 1975:

Aboard that “carrier pigeon,” I flew across Brazilian skies. For the first time, a song originating from a *trio elétrico* attained national success. The song was picked up by disc jockeys and became requested by listeners. To our delight, it was chosen as theme music for the *Jornal Hoje* news show on the Globo network, became part of the soundtrack of the *telenovela* “Sem lenço e sem documento,” and even was used in an advertisement by Brazil’s mail service... The royalty payments started to roll in, but Dodô had a very funny reaction: “What is all this money doing in my bank account? I didn’t work for it; I didn’t sweat for it; this money can’t be mine.” His son Jorge patiently explained that it really was his, for something he had already done. But he stayed suspicious, saying “Money that comes too easy goes too easy, but I might as well buy some material for the workshop.” On the other hand, Osmar was thrilled and started to plan how he’d turn around and invest it all in the next carnival performance.²⁰⁴

There was another parallel with folklore and the pervading problem of how to protect authentic popular culture in the fact that, at some point by around 1960-1 if not before (again the lack of archives in Salvador regarding festival culture thwarts systematic research), the *trios elétricos* participating in carnival were being charged a special tax by the city that observers fretted would likewise bring them to an early demise. The abolishing of taxes on genuine folkloric *folguedos* was a central tenet of the accord the CNFL drew up and managed to get most Brazilian states to sign in the 1950s. A concern regarding such fees as a way for authorities to do away with practices deemed

²⁰⁴ Moraes, *Sonhos Elétricos*, 43-4.

“uncivilized in modern society” was aired by folklorists as early as 1948, a year after the founding of the CNFL.²⁰⁵ In the case of the *trios elétrico*, the 1961 *A Tarde* editorial, “Absurd Taxes,” makes the case that this new manifestation of carnival culture should be treated fairly, like all the other ones in Salvador’s festival.

There can be no doubt that our street carnival owes a great debt to the famous *trios elétrico*. They evoke animation and tremendous excitement, pulling together considerable masses of revelers with the sound of their amplified *frevo*. But this year some of these *trios* are threatened with the possibility of not being able to parade. One of the motives is the ridiculous tax charged by the Police and by City Hall, through the intermediary of the Fiscalization Department. If the public authorities have the obligation to stimulate these initiatives, including through providing annual subsidies for carnival clubs, *cordões* and *batucadas*, why on earth is there a fee levied on the *trios* during each day of their participation in carnival? Perhaps our mayor, Heitor Dias, a stalwart supporter of carnival groups, is unaware of this atrocity. It falls to him, and to Rafael Cincurá, Secretary of Security, to facilitate the parading of the *trios* by mandating the suspension of this unjust tax on the vehicles. Doing so would represent a direct collaboration in the project to ensure that the precious *trios elétrico* stay on the streets and do not disappear, taking with them all the animation of Bahian carnival.²⁰⁶

The relation between these taxes and other general licensing fees for official carnival participation is unclear, although it appears to have been something beyond the typical rules for Salvador’s traditional carnival clubs and decorated cars (perhaps nominally related to their heavier usage and wear of the road, which was cited by city licensing agencies in the 2000s as a reason for charging a tax). Indeed, the fact that the first *trios* early in the 1950s were relatively spontaneous interventions in an otherwise orderly carnival strongly suggests they were occurring beyond the reach of carnival’s

²⁰⁵ It was Rio-based journalist and folklorist Mariza Lira who raised the issue, with particular reference to towns in Brazil’s rural interior where authorities were imposing stiff fees on manifestations such as Afro-Brazilian *congadas* in Minas Gerais. But Sílvio Pedrosa, the mayor of Natal who was in attendance, pointed out the fact that in some cases states, not cities, were imposing the fees; and when a city actively provided financial subsidies to help support traditional culture, those funds merely found their back to the state rather than helping the *folguedos*. “Mesa Redonda sobre Folclore,” *Semana Folclórica*, 26.

²⁰⁶ “Impostos absurdos,” *A Tarde* (Salvador), 2 February 1961.

licensing and centralizing apparatus.²⁰⁷ The apparent fact that the *trio elétrico*, which would come to be one of the most potent symbols of Bahian carnival, appeared and developed outside of official carnival for around a decade is also evidenced in the initial composition of the Federation of Bahian Carnival Clubs, founded in April 1959; its members were representatives of *afoxés*, samba schools, and various small clubs, but not a *trio elétrico*.²⁰⁸ And because they were not being judged, they were not always presented in the early years among the lists of groups that officially made carnival happen—even though their importance to the whole event was widely repeated.

It might not be coincidental that two days after the above editorial brought the special fees on *trios* to public attention, it was announced that a new official carnival competition category was created for Salvador's *trios elétricos*. Apparently at the suggestion of a private citizen, Cristovão Ferreira, manager of the Trio Elétrico of the Ipiranga Shipping Company, the Department of Tourism was instituting a competition (offering a “beautiful trophy”) to the *trio* that exhibited the best “ornementation, sound, and animation.”²⁰⁹ The same commission that judged the *cordões*, *batucadas*, and other clubs would also evaluate the *trios* from their stage mounted at the Praça da Sé. The brief announcement did not indicate it, but likely this would implicate for willing *trio* competitors the same sorts of licensing and registration procedures, including the payment of fees to the city, that other clubs such as samba schools and *afoxés* had to undertake—meaning that if the special tax on *trios* was rescinded, the *trios* might still serve as a source of revenue towards carnival's organization. Of course, by the late

²⁰⁷ Osmar often relished the story of how he and Dodô, aboard their first *trio* vehicle, chaotically interrupted the Fantoches de Euterpe's elaborate and staid parade down Rua Chile, with its theme of Verdi's opera *Aida*, in 1950 or 1951.

²⁰⁸ Félix and Nery, *Bahia, Carnaval*, 63.

²⁰⁹ “Concurso de trios elétricos,” *A Tarde* (Salvador), 4 February 1961.

1960s, most *trios* had abandoned the official competitions; there was no responsibility to participate, and ignoring the proclamations of small panels of specialist judges added more luster to idea that the *trios* were of, by, and for the people themselves.²¹⁰

The *trios* were also obviously exempt from the sort of regulation on *mascarados* that prohibited “any type of commercial propaganda,”²¹¹ since the *trios* had developed around, and depended on, the availability of private sponsorship since 1952. But even if they were not licensed with the carnival administration, they eventually had to register as vehicles with the Transportation Division under threat of arrest of the driver and towing of the *trio*.²¹² If special *trio* taxes were abolished, others soon emerged to take their place, including income taxes and payment of royalties to the musicians’ union.²¹³ But enforcement of royalty payments was long known to be inconsistently enforced, and in the carnival of 1964 (just prior to the military coup), Bahian musicians and carnival entrepreneurs were warned that the Department of Jogos and Costumes as well as the Serviço de Censura e Diversões Públicas were collaborating with the Syndicate of Composers to better regulate the use of others’ music for private gain during the festival.²¹⁴ And over time the city would find itself with another fundamental way to intervene in the *trios*’ mobility: as the *trios* grew in gross physical size in the 1970s, they

²¹⁰ They disappeared from official lists after 1973, when the competition was canceled; in 1975, the breakdown provided by the city of 101 carnival entities did not include a single *trio*. “Cento e uma entidades farão o Carnaval 1975,” *Diário de Notícias*, 12 February 1975.

²¹¹ “Hora do folião de arquibancada,” *ViverBahia* #29, February 1976, 9.

²¹² “Trios sem permissão,” *Diário de Notícias*, 26 February 1976.

²¹³ “O passo contínuo da multidão.”

²¹⁴ “Jogos e Costumes e Censura colaborão com os compositores,” *A Tarde* (Salvador), 18 January 1964. It was easier for inspectors to police the orchestras at dances and other parties than the *trios*, and that same month, the orchestras raised their rates dramatically to cover the increased royalty payments they had to make. “O comercial pronto para os dias dedicados a Momo,” *A Tarde* (Salvador), 31 January 1964.

risked running into electrical wires. The city used public funds to raise the wires along an agreed-upon route—accommodating the *trios*, but also delimiting their parade space.²¹⁵

Osmar's remark about seeing the *trio elétrico* as a form of folklore is significant in yet another way. Although Dodô and Osmar did not initiate the *trio elétrico* as a money-making venture, they welcomed private investment in their *trio*, even if it was never enough to cover their growing expenses each year. However, his focus on the *trio* as a product of the Bahian experience, and his endorsement of integrating the *trio elétrico* and carnival into modern frameworks of tourism (at the city and state levels) would turn out to have deep implications for the future of his own *trio*, while also presaging the way Salvador's new carnival music would come to discursively construct the city as a festive, happy, hospitable place for locals and visitors alike. This overlaps substantially with the notion that, especially after 1964, what was occurring during Salvador's carnival was a ritualized expression of democracy, a moment to celebrate the individual participation in the collective that was denied in the political sphere.

And the idea that the new tradition *trio elétrico* could be a form of folklore was all the more intriguing because the milieu of festival culture it emerged within was cut through with commercial interests. Direct interactions between the business sector and carnival's culture producers were far more open and feasible in 1950s Salvador than they were in the same period in Recife, where the urge to centralize carnival through the supervision of city and civic leaders was much more pervasive and historically rooted. And it was hardly an issue with Rio's samba schools, since mainstream businesses tended

²¹⁵ The critique was made by musician Gilberto Gil in *ViverBahia* (#29, February 1976, 15), who suggested that "official schemes that determine routes" took away the *trios*' spontaneity and their perceived right to be able to "follow the multitudes anywhere, stop when they stop, go when they go." Only in the late 1980s would Bahian carnival begin to impose precise parade times on all its entities, so the limitation Gil refers to must have been spatial. He does not say it, but the *trios* also bore responsibility for their growing size.

to stay away from them (in large part because advertising of any sort within the schools was against parade rules, but until the expansion of middle-class directors and other mediators in the 1950s, the samba schools were stereotypically viewed as embodiments of the poor *favelas* and hence not prime marketing potential). In Salvador at the time, there was little attempt to create the idea that carnival was supposed to exist in a space untouched by commercial concerns. In 1964 carnival, for instance, the festival officially began with the arrival of King Momo and his Carnival Queen atop a decorated vehicle (*carro alegórico*) in the city's main downtown circuit. They were accompanied by three more such vehicles, each representing a principal private sponsor of the festival—the *Jornal da Bahia*, *Rádio Excelsior*, and Coca Cola.²¹⁶ Momo, the human embodiment of the traditional, popular festival spirit was outnumbered (and symbolically surrounded) by the forces of capitalism. By the 1980s, although carnival's commercialization was even more pervasive, the rhetoric of popular participation operated to a degree to obfuscate those relationships and conceive the anonymous, ideal reveler of the festival as one free to consume a variety of pleasures and experiences, unhindered and unconstrained.

From 1952 to 1957, Dodô and Osmar received sponsorship from Fratelli Vita, a beverage company specializing in *guarana* and other carbonated drinks. The Vita brothers, sons of Italian immigrants, commanded factories in Salvador and Recife and were keenly aware of the significance of wide brand placement.²¹⁷ Armandinho recounts that Miguel Vita sought out Dodô and Osmar to suggest the deal, and he recalls that one year, the decoration of their sound truck included the large outline of a leaning Vita

²¹⁶ “Rei Momo desfila hoje,” *Jornal da Bahia*, 06 February 1964.

²¹⁷ Beyond investing in the *trio elétrico*, they advertised heavily during carnival season in local newspapers and also supported the successful candidacy of Bahian Martha Roça to become Miss Brasil in 1954; in turn, she developed her own advertising contracts with the company.

bottle, formed on a panel by light bulbs, with other bulbs blinking in succession down from the “mouth” to a waiting cup to indicate the pouring out of good cheer. “It seems funny to say now, but this was the early 1950s, and not everybody had electricity in their houses, so seeing this go down the street all lit up at night was pretty impressive.”²¹⁸ The interpenetration of form and marketing in the *trio* accelerated, and by the early 1970s, the *trio elétrico* Saborosa (formerly Jacaré) paraded atop a truck on an immense float itself shaped like a bottle laying on its side, provided by the Saborosa rum company. The band would perform the music to the Saborosa product jingle, which had been composed in uptempo carnival *frevo* style: “*Só bebo Saborosa, A Saborosa é mais gostosa, Bebo no inverno e no verão* (I only drink Saborosa, it’s the tastiest, I drink it in winter and in summer too”), and people following the *trio* would sing along since the jingle was familiar from radio play. This incident illuminates the musical approach of the *trios* from the 1950s to the early 1970s, before it was technically possible to incorporate a singer—*trios* limited to instrumental performance would incorporate into their repertoire many recognizable popular songs from outside carnival so that the following crowd could sing along, providing the vocal element. Whether it was a commercial jingle, political jingle or a recent hit off the radio, this participatory process effectively melded the *trio* and the masses into one musical ensemble. The public, crossover appeal of the Saborosa *trio* was also heightened in 1970 when Armandinho, fresh from winning several national guitar competitions televised on TV Tupi, joined the *trio*²¹⁹ and participated with them until 1973, after which he joined with Dodô and Osmar.

²¹⁸ Armandinho Macedo, personal communication, 6 January 2012, Salvador.

²¹⁹ *Estado da Bahia*, 5 February 1970.

In 1958 Dodô and Osmar received sponsorship from Salvador's city hall, and they invested in creating a prototype of a standard base for their *trio* that would fit a variety of vehicle and float types; it was widely adapted by other *trios*.²²⁰ In 1959, private enterprise, politics, and inter-regional relations converged to provide them a novel experience: at the invitation of the governor of Pernambuco, they were invited to perform their version of *frevo* during Recife's carnival. Understandably, Salvador's public officials stepped back from subsidizing the excursion, which, while a boost to local prestige, would take the founding *trio* away from the city's own festivities. Coca-Cola underwrote the trip. The musicians received airfare and hotel accommodations; arrangements were made for a driver to take their *trio* the roughly 570 miles up from Salvador, no small feat on the roads of that era.²²¹ Beyond being a general opportunity to celebrate the vitality of *frevo*, however, Pernambucan journalist Leonardo Dantas Silva notes that 1959 was not just any year. Cid Sampaio had been elected governor in late 1958 and was taking office on 31 January 1959, days before carnival.²²² Sampaio, a leftist member of Brazil's National Democratic Union (UDN) party with ties to the Communist party, was also a chemist and industrialist with substantial ambitions for modernizing the state; he would go on to construct the Pernambucan Synthetic Rubber Company (COPERBO) and the Development Bank of the State of Pernambuco (BANDEPE). 1959 carnival was thus being cast by him and his supporters as the "carnival of victory." A Sampaio campaign jingle written by renowned *frevo* composer Nelson Ferreira entitled "O Povo é que Diz Cid (It's the People who say Cid)" was

²²⁰ Góes, *O País do Carnaval Elétrico*, 58.

²²¹ Aroldo Macedo, personal communication, Salvador, Bahia, 09 January 2012.

²²² Leonardo Dantas Silva, "O dia em que o frevo tomou conta de Salvador," *Revista Continente*, 01 February 2005.

performed throughout the festivities,²²³ including by the *trio elétrico* Dodô and Osmar, who quickly added it to their repertoire.²²⁴

For Sampaio, the presence of the celebrated *trio elétrico* pioneers from nearby Bahia, who had applied their own engineering and modernizing capacities to further the glories of hometown *frevo*, likely seemed a suitable way to commemorate his taking office. Despite their misgivings about playing their new type of *frevo* in front of potentially antagonistic audiences of tradition-minded musicians, Dodô and Osmar were warmly received. Ferreira himself reportedly went to the friends' hotel to congratulate them on their performance, which Dodô recalled as the "greatest satisfaction the *trio elétrico* ever brought me."²²⁵ On the last full day of festivities they received a trophy thanking them for their "collaboration" with local carnival, which the Macedo family still owns. Recife's papers reported that the *trio* was "a genuine hit" during Recife's carnival, but took pains to add that "its members affirmed that they thoroughly enjoyed our carnival, the animation of which is unmatched in any part of Brazil."²²⁶ For Recife's boosters, the *trio elétrico* trend had to be handled carefully. This was the same era that concerns about Rio's carnival music impinging on local culture were increasingly aired, and the city did not want to yield too much prestige to a new carnival competitor in the same region of the country. Perhaps that is why Recife's main newspaper, in its reporting on 1959 carnival festivities around Brazil, emphasized in the Salvador section the

²²³ By unanimous decision, it was given first place by the song judging committee ("Comissão escolheu, ontem, as melhores músicas carnavalescas"). The selection of a blatantly political song by a committee not composed of anyone with clear political vocations is notable. Given Sampaio's victory, perhaps not choosing it as the contest winner for the year was quietly viewed as imprudent.

²²⁴ Lyrics included "The *bloco* of victory is on the street / Since the sun rose / Come on along, to our gang / 'Cause the world has turned around! / When the people say Cid / We can't help but join the *frevo*[...] / It's our victory were going to celebrate." Silva, "O dia em que o frevo tomou conta de Salvador."

²²⁵ "25 anos atrás do trio elétrico," *ViverBahia* #17, February 1975, p. 6.

²²⁶ "Despedida do trio elétrico," *Diário de Pernambuco*, 12 February 1959.

traditional *blocos*, the municipal party of the Galo Vermelho and the elite parades of the Fantoches da Euterpe—leaving out any mention of the *trio elétrico* phenomenon at all.²²⁷

Too Many Trios? Dodô and Osmar's Exile from Carnival

1960 found Dodô and Osmar back in Salvador for carnival, sponsored by beverage maker Antarctica, but that would be the friends' last carnival performance until 1974, when they paraded in a reformulated *trio* featuring Osmar's celebrity son Armandinho. To explain their long absence Góes's book emphasizes the emotional impact on Osmar of losing his father-in-law that year,²²⁸ a factor also highlighted by Aroldo Macedo in conversation²²⁹ and Osmar himself in a 1970 interview (in which Osmar notes that he did return to carnival in 1963 or 1964, setting up a children's version of a *trio* to feature Armandinho, but did not perform himself).²³⁰ The death of a man Osmar held as an inspiration may have been the root cause of his not performing,²³¹ but another set of factors was also cited by Osmar himself in earlier interviews: the challenges he and Dodô faced to mount a distinctive *trio* in the midst of so many other *trios* who had followed their example (and who, it was implied, might have enjoyed more generous funding). Osmar told the *Diário de Notícias* in 1974 that after 1960 the friends desisted from carnival because "there were already so many *trios* that it just wasn't worth it anymore,"²³² but went further in *ViverBahia* in 1975: "From 1950 to 1960 we played for fun, for the happiness to see the multitudes jumping alongside. But the sponsorship

²²⁷ "Carnaval nos estados: Muita animação," *Diário de Pernambuco*, 12 February 1959.

²²⁸ Góes, *O País do Carnaval Elétrico*, 60.

²²⁹ Aroldo Macedo, personal communication, Salvador, Bahia, 09 January 2012.

²³⁰ "O chão é meu, o sol é seu."

²³¹ Complicating matters further, another article in the era of the silver anniversary that incorporated interviews with Osmar suggested that the reason the two friends stopped participating in carnival after 1960 was the death of Reginaldo Silva—named the third member that formed the trio, rather than Temístocles Aragão as Góes had cited ("Batam palmas e agradeçam ao primeiro Trio Elétrico," *Diário de Notícias*, 22 February 1974). Perhaps Silva had replaced Aragão at some point.

²³² "Jubileu do trio elétrico, despedida de Dodô e Osmar."

we got only helped somewhat with the equipment; it was never enough, and we were spending out of pocket all the time. By 1960, we got tired of it, and there were so many *trios* out there following our example that we gave up participating.”²³³

Comparing Brazilian currencies over time is a complex and imprecise matter, but we have details on two key *trio* vehicles to compare. In 1952, the year of the first actual *trio elétrico*, Dodô and Osmar used a truck outfitted with eight loudspeakers and a gas generator to power the amplifier. For carnival in 1974, not yet the grand silver-anniversary parade, the two men and their families placed their 1929 Ford *fobica* (from 1951 carnival) on a massive Chevrolet truck bearing 12 large speakers imported from the United States, powered by five separate amplifiers, and 60 fluorescent lights. Osmar declared “there are only 12 speakers, but the public will discover their capacity for animation,” which the journalist interpreted as embarrassment mingled with defiance: “Osmar wants to prove to the public that the original *trio* doesn’t concede anything to the recently created ones.”²³⁴ By comparison, the 1972 *trio* of Trio Elétrico Tapajós carried at least thirty speakers, based on available images, and others, rarely identifiable in period newspaper photographs, held many more. Osmar, speaking on another occasion, said “Time was, the *trios* might have had four speakers and maybe twenty lights; these days they have a hundred speakers and four hundred lights... A *trio* that doesn’t want to appear inferior to the others needs to be ready to spend around 200,000 *cruzeiros*.”²³⁵ A sense of competition between the *trios* was fueled not just by the official judging (which most *trios* simply disregarded by the late 1960s) but by newspaper accounts highlighting, for example, the alleged “bitter dispute” between Tapajós and Tupinambás in 1970 to see

²³³ “25 anos atrás do trio elétrico.”

²³⁴ “Batam palmas e agradeçam ao primeiro Trio Elétrico.”

²³⁵ “Ford-29 conduz trio elétrico que Osmar fundou a 23 anos,” *Diário de Notícias*, 02 February 1973.

which could outperform the other in creating more “brilliance and animation” for the masses.²³⁶ The degree of popular enthusiasm around each *trio* gave an immediate if subjective measure of its appeal, but musicians as well as observers were also increasingly sensitive to assessing and comparing each *trio* as a rolling embodiment of capital investment. That all this could be symbolically translated into popular support for the private investors who used the *trios* as enormous advertisements is indicated by the Saberosa ad described in the dissertation’s introduction.

To the extent that Dodô and Osmar were losing money during carnival, the situation reflected a clash between Osmar’s perception that the *trio* was a form of folklore, done for its own sake, with the realities not just of capitalist society in general, but of a local carnival in which market forces already intervened more directly than was the case in Rio²³⁷ or Recife. Salvador’s *gritos de carnaval* or pre-carnival festivities dated from the late 1920s and were, in the blunt words of observers, “invented by commerce to sell more stuff.”²³⁸ The radio stations Sociedade and Excelsior brought to various neighborhoods elaborate stage performances, as well as the abundant advertising of the sponsors. Outside the activities of the clubs—whether the three grand clubs, or the athletic and recreational clubs that were less elite but still expensive for many locals—midcentury street events were typically staged by department stores such as Duas

²³⁶ “Disputa entre os dois trios elétricos animou foliões,” *A Tarde* (Salvador), 11 February 1970.

²³⁷ Queiroz considers the era of “Grand Carnival” in Rio, from 1850 to 1950, a period marked by festive events “overwhelmingly promoted by merchants and journalists, since the success of carnival was good business... the ideal reveler, as conceived by Grand Carnival, was eminently bourgeoisie” (“Carnaval brasileiro, 720). Her periodization ostensibly overlaps awkwardly with the somewhat earlier rise of a carnival dominated by the samba school parade, but certainly changes in how Rio’s carnival was conceived (expressed in the rising scale and centralization of the spectacular parade, and the relative inconspicuousness of private enterprise) were becoming clear along the 1950s. While private parties and a capitalist imperative hardly disappeared from Rio’s festivities, the official carnival of the samba schools was conceived, ideally, as free of the taints of commerce.

²³⁸ Félix and Nery, 66.

Américas, Milissan, and Casa Alberto (the urns to collect public votes for carnival queen were placed outside Casa Alberto storefronts, in competitions sponsored by the Association of Bahian Carnival Journalists). The store chains hired their own orchestras and *trios*, staged their own competitions, and provided abundant decoration—typically linked to heavy advertising and promotion of store sales events.²³⁹ It appears even that the gradual expansion of Salvador’s carnival from three to four days (starting a day earlier, on Saturday) was in part the result of deliberate strategies by the Lojas Duas Américas in 1959: that year for the first time, starting at 9 am, the downtown store on Rua Chile would present to the public “two *trio elétricos*, no fewer than fifteen *batucadas*, and cash prizes for all *mascarados*,” as well as Rádio Excelsior shows on a stage in front of the store, which would, of course, be open to customers.²⁴⁰ Based on conversation with a store spokesman, a journalist enthused “we believe that finally, Bahian carnival will be four days, not three.” By 1965, it was widely accepted that carnival began on Saturday.²⁴¹ A decade later, *ViverBahia* attributed the expansion of carnival to four days to the influence of the *trio elétrico* and “the initiative of the Bahian people,” leaving out the particular efforts of commerce.²⁴² In 1981, when Friday was added to carnival by a decree from the Carnival Organizing Commission, it was celebrated with an encounter of no fewer than six *trios elétrico* in the Praça Castro Alves “in a demonstration of the euphoria of the Bahian people.”²⁴³

Of course, by the mid-1950s, folkloric presentations themselves were often being staged in the commercial context of explicit private sponsorship, such as 1956 events

²³⁹ Félix and Nery, 68-9.

²⁴⁰ “Carnaval,” *A Tarde* (Salvador), 04 February 1959.

²⁴¹ “Aplaudiu e dançou com trios, carnaval aumentado para quatro dias,” *Jornal da Bahia*, 04 March 1965.

²⁴² “O passo contínuo da multidão,” *ViverBahia* #29, February 1976, 5.

²⁴³ “Encontro de 6 trios elétricos abre o carnaval na sexta,” *Tribuna da Bahia*, 28 January 1981.

held in São Paulo by the newspaper *A Gazeta* (a São João-themed festival of folklore associated with the harvest) and by Rádio Record (celebrating its anniversary with a demonstration of national folklore).²⁴⁴ In a 1962 Bulletin editorial, Almeida critiqued a recent commercially-sponsored “folklore parade” in Copacabana: “the parade mixed legitimate *folguedos* with those merely based on folkloric models, and the election by the crowd of a Miss Folklore International really was an event of dubious folkloric merit.”²⁴⁵ But of all Brazilian festivals the interpenetration of the public and “popular” with the commercial was clearest in carnival, and Salvador’s carnival in particular, where the *trios* could make money off sponsors (or politicians) in open transactions. The point was elaborated by Moraes, who affirmed “The *trio* has a million uses: carnivals, *micaretas*, product launches, rallies, demonstrations, gay pride parades, weddings, religious events, there is no limit.”²⁴⁶ Early on, entrepreneurs who explored viable commercial use of the *trio elétrico* were best situated for personal financial gain—and the redoubling of efforts to exploit the *trio*’s potential in carnival or carnivalesque activities. These entrepreneurs were not always musicians. Along the 1950s, *trios* were formed by individual companies and given the name of the company itself, such as Ipiranga, Rádio América, Atlas, Rum Merino, Jacaré (which later became Saborosa, with the distinctive rum-bottle vehicle), and Esporte Club Bahia;²⁴⁷ they performed music for the public similar to the amplified *frevos* of Dodô and Osmar, but they were visually designed as ambulant advertisements.

The dominant figure in the expansion of the *trio elétrico*’s commercialization is Orlando Campos, who in 1957 was the president of the Flamenguinho Sport Club in

²⁴⁴ Documento 362, 2/1/57 (CNFCP DA: Ibecc/Cnfl/Documentos 362-388, 1957).

²⁴⁵ “Notas diversas,” Boletim 178, BB-179 October 1962 (CNFCP DA: Ibecc/Cnfl/Boletins 170-181).

²⁴⁶ Moraes, *Sonhos Elétricos*, 145.

²⁴⁷ Miguez de Oliveira, “Carnaval Baiano,” 90.

Salvador's Periperi neighborhood. A *trio* he hired for 1957 carnival events at the club failed to show, leaving him with the resolve to create his own *trio* to perform both at the club and on the streets nearby—as it did in 1958 and 1959, with the patronage of a city councilman. Góes emphasizes that Campos “viewed the *trio* from the sole perspective of business, and ultimately made it the norm among all the *trios* to find private sponsors; he would make his *trio* available for hire for absolutely anything.”²⁴⁸ Sometime in the 1960s he was the first to add a microphone to the *trios*, which were known (in large part due to technical limitations) for playing strictly instrumental music, but it was not used for singing: rather, for political speeches, praising products, and rally speeches when the music stopped.²⁴⁹ Once Salvador established a competition for the *trios*, Campos sent his, the *trio elétrico* Tapajós, to participate starting in 1962 (with support from the city's tourism department). They won second place that year, and then invested heavily in bettering their *trio* for appeal to the judges and quickly won first place three years running (1965-7), leading nearly all the other *trios* to abandon the competition outright.²⁵⁰ When they won again in 1970, after two years running only for honorable mention (a temporary solution by the city to allow different *trios* to win the championship), other *trio* leaders were so angry that Sutursa resolved to do away with the *trio* competition outright in 1973.²⁵¹ Clearly, Campos's business model was yielding formidable results.

There was no ill will between Dodô and Osmar and the business-minded Orlando Campos; indeed, the creators of the *trio elétrico*, once they resolved to abandon carnival

²⁴⁸ Góes, *O País do Carnaval Elétrico*, 60-1.

²⁴⁹ Miguez de Oliveira, “Carnaval Baiano,” 92.

²⁵⁰ In 1968, there was only one *trio elétrico*, Jacaré, in the entire competition; judges awarded it honorable mention. “Trio Elétrico Jacaré e Cavalheiros de Bagadad ganharam menção honrosa.”

²⁵¹ “Nos seus 20 anos, o Tapajós é uma empresa organizada a serviço da folia,” *Jornal da Bahia*, 02 February 1979.

after 1960, sold their *trio* truck to him. However, Campos ultimately opened his own *trio* construction workshop, alongside a publicity and promotion agency to manage his *trios'* applications. He took rationalization of carnival culture a step further by negotiating with the national Department of Streets and Highways to determine suitable weights and measurements for his vehicles to determine not only performance sites, but the proper routes to and from those sites on the public thoroughfares.²⁵² It was Campos's Tapajós that released the first long-play of Bahian *trio* music in 1969 on a national label,²⁵³ the first of five vinyl appearances before 1975 when Dodô and Osmar released their own first recording. His efforts helped make the *trio* a national phenomenon, from carnival-like festivals in northeastern cities to performances in Recife's carnival in 1964, and on the street in Rio de Janeiro (one event there was recorded for a 1972 LP), as well as a multitude of entrepreneurial and political applications. In terms of carnival participation in Salvador, however, Campos aligned himself with the founders of the *trio* and maintained Tapajós a *trio independente*, without an encircling rope or fees, open to anyone to accompany. It was through investing the substantial proceeds from his successful other *trio* business ventures, along with the patronage from city and state tourism departments, into Tapajós's visual and sonic infrastructure that Campos made Tapajós a formidable tri-champion in the official *trio* competition (and effectively did away with the judging, since other *trios* did not want to compete against his).

Campos, presently a man of advanced years with a firm legacy in Salvador's cultural scene, maintains a powerful if ambivalent stature. In 2010, the same year he received a warm appreciation in Moraes's memoir, Campos made headlines in Salvador

²⁵² Miguez de Oliveira, "Carnaval Baiano," 92.

²⁵³ *Trio Elétrico Tapajós*, Philips P-632.927-L MONO / BR, 1969.

and across Brazil for his demand for jaw-dropping fees from the state for Tapajós to participate in the festivities marking sixty years of the *trio elétrico*. “I ask myself what I did to make carnival turn against me,” he protested, when the Bahia state Culture Minister, Márcio Meirelles, countered his demand for no less than half a billion *reais* with the offer of R\$60,000. Making his case with a purported 1994 letter from Osmar Macedo himself in hand, begging Campos to “not allow our invention to die,” Campos dismissed the counteroffer of the state as akin to a “charitable donation to a bum.”²⁵⁴

Conclusion

Clearly, Dodô and Osmar maintained good relations with Orlando Campos, watching as he helped make the *trio elétrico* a year-round and nationwide phenomenon during their years away from carnival. Commercial opportunities were there if the creators of the *trio* had chosen to exploit them. the trend amongst the *trios* since the earliest years had been to not rely solely on public funding, since it was clearly insufficient and unreliable, but to find other sources. More than in Rio or Recife, carnival in Salvador facilitated this open relationship with private capital. But the men’s ambivalence kept them from doing so—in large part because, as Osmar stated, in his view the *trio* as “folklore” belonged to the traditional cultural patrimony and identity of the state, and the state itself and the Bahian people should benefit from it before he did personally. Folklorists took no real notice of the *trio elétrico*, which emerged during the golden years of the CNFL, and by the late 1960s, when the *trio* became a national phenomenon, the folklore movement was in decline. Changes in Brazil’s economy and demographics, a growing youth culture movement, expansion in television and the

²⁵⁴ Campos cited the letter from Osmar Macedo as written 28 November 1994. “Criador do Trio Tapajós considera esmola R\$60 mil do governo,” *A Tarde* (Salvador), 01 February 2010.

recording industry, and the diverse tensions of life under military rule all contributed to a public disaffection with folklore; and Osmar's view of the *trio* as an embodiment of it was both backward-looking, and prescient (looking ahead to a later generation of folklorists' engagement with urban popular cultural practices).

At the same time, and notably more than most of their contemporaries—especially in a city increasingly analyzed as having a “postindustrial, leisure economy”²⁵⁵—Dodô and Osmar were routinely spending lots of their own money to provide a cultural attraction for others. Of course, as they often stated, their compensation was the personal gratification of the experience; Osmar recalled that the first time he received a payment for a performance was in 1982,²⁵⁶ four years after Dodô died. This was different than what Edison Carneiro had described as healthy social commitment to *folguedos* such as *bumba-meu-boi* and *ternos de Reis*, in which the people as a whole contributed amounts according to their means toward the performance and maintenance of folkloric tradition, and there was no profit motive. If Dodô and Osmar had received sufficient public monies through the state and city, including tourism authorities, to cover expenses it would have approached (in a highly officialized, non-spontaneous form of public endorsement) what Carneiro praised as public “contributions... that connected the people to the *folguedos*, in a demonstration of trust by the collective. The people expressed solidarity through their *folguedos*.”²⁵⁷ In Salvador, options for solidarity during carnival were multiply subdivided, including by barriers of race and class, but also the public and private spheres. Osmar suggested in 1973 that structural factors made it

²⁵⁵ Risério, *Uma História da Cidade da Bahia*, “A Economia do Lazer,” 580-6; Marcus Alban Suarez, *Salvador: Uma Alternativa Pós-Industrial* (Salvador: Governo do Estado & UFBA, 1990).

²⁵⁶ *Frente a Frente: Osmar Macedo*.

²⁵⁷ Carneiro, “Proteção e Restauração dos Folguedos Populares,” 100.

difficult for them to raise enough investment to be self-sufficient: “The businesses don’t want to pay for all the expenses, and the government, because it considers the *trio* to be doing propaganda, imposes a range of taxes on us.”²⁵⁸ But more than any other *trio elétrico* (such as Tapajós, which regularly received public funding for carnival but ran businesses for profit year-round), the *trio* of Dodô and Osmar attempted—and still attempts—to stand outside the free market influences that pervade Salvador’s carnival.

Osmar’s sense of the importance of tourism to Salvador—not just as a source of revenue, but as a measure of local uniqueness and vitality—led him to suggest in 1974 to mayor Clériston Andrade that Salvador’s next carnival should actually be scheduled a week early in order to not conflict with other national celebrations, and thereby “increase the tourist traffic here.”²⁵⁹ One can only imagine what Salvador’s Catholic authorities, long ambivalent about carnival, would have said about that departure from the Lent calendar. But from Osmar’s point of view, there was a natural affinity and relationship of mutual encouragement between his *trio*, carnival, and tourism. This was ratified with the proposition in 1973 by Osmundo Tosta of the state Tourism Department that the Department should fully subsidize their participation in carnival that year, although it did not come to pass, allegedly due to the proximity of the event.²⁶⁰ In 1974, Dodo and Osmar did rejoin carnival as a “rehearsal” for the Silver Anniversary planned the next year. Praised in the news as a “way for tourists and young people to see for themselves the origins of the Trio Elétrico,” the reporting emphasized that financial support was provided by the mayor’s office and local businesses. Only deep in the article was Osmar’s own substantial personal investment in the undertaking mentioned: the mayor

²⁵⁸ “Ford-29 conduz trio elétrico que Osmar fundou a 23 anos.”

²⁵⁹ “Batam palmas e agradeçam ao primeiro Trio Elétrico.”

²⁶⁰ “Batam palmas e agradeçam ao primeiro Trio Elétrico.”

provided only 15% of the necessary funds for the vehicle.²⁶¹ “Jubileu de Prata,” a song he and Dodô were writing for the group’s recording session later that year, characterized Salvador’s electrified carnival as an “explosion of happiness... the only place in the world where you can have fun without spending money / You only have to be alive,” but ironically, that ideal never applied to the founders of the *trio elétrico* themselves.

²⁶¹ “Batam palmas e agradeçam ao primeiro Trio Elétrico.” With a needed budget of 135,000 *cruzeiros*, 20,000 came from city hall; 70,000 from businesses (Correia Ribeiro and Super Mercado Unimar), and the final 45,000—more than twice the city’s investment—“from the private resources of the creators, principally Osmar.”

Chapter 3

“Caminhão da Alegria”: The Consolidation (and Contradictions) of Popular Participation in Salvador, 1970s-1990s

The previous chapter lay the groundwork for understanding how it was possible for Salvador’s carnival to be a more receptive realm for cultural innovation and change (represented by the *trio elétrico*) than was the case in Rio de Janeiro and Recife. The festival in Salvador was viewed as less traditional, less folkloric, and less distinctive at the same time that relationships between carnival culture and private enterprise were more visible and accepted. This chapter continues to explore how the discourse of popular participation began to emerge in the late 1960s and early 1970s, with diverse origins in mass media, popular music and celebrity musicians, and tourism literature. It considers how that multivalent discourse was ultimately leveraged externally, to advertise Salvador to tourists, and internally, to emphasize an attitude of festive hospitality amongst locals (especially the city’s swelling underclass population). It also follows the development of new local musical forms, and the growing professionalization and privatization of Salvador’s carnival, which national media declared in 1993 finally beat out Rio’s for the symbolic prestige of being the nation’s carnival—which in 2004 entered the Guinness Book of Records as the planet’s largest public street festival. These would seem to be crowning successes, but all that growth was coming at a cost as public allegations of corruption, cronyism, incompetence, and social exclusion¹ led to a recent internal document by SalTur (Empresa Salvador Turismo, formerly Emtursa, the city’s

¹ These were found in the local newspapers, often written by academics affiliated with Bahian universities. The study of carnival and tourism in Bahia were booming in higher education by the 1990s, both in the technical dimensions of administration, business, and planning, and in the fields of anthropology, history, and sociology—including critics such as Gey Espinheira and Milton Moura.

tourism department) noting: “Granted, there are many problems... Carnival can still mature and improve in every aspect. But the press prefers to feature articles about discord, lost information, debts, secrecy, conflicts—nearly all of what they write is negative... Now, as we prepare for the next carnival, we need to develop a positive agenda around the festival.”²

The invention of the *trio elétrico* by Bahian part-time musicians Dodô and Osmar in 1951-2 led to novel ways to celebrate carnival in Salvador, with ramifications for how the festival affected local cultural production and identity construction throughout the year. The original *trio elétrico* was initially the pursuit of friends and their family networks, but the invention was quickly picked up by others and adopted to new creative and entrepreneurial uses, both within and outside carnival. The carnival ostensibly based on “popular participation” was becoming a tourist attraction, even as the *trio elétrico* format was widely copied in other cities and states. With the onset of the military coup in 1964, and its cycle of intensification and gradual release in later years, popular culture was transforming as well—represented perhaps most famously by the bold experiments of Tropicália in visual art and music, and *cinema novo* in film (although this reached a far smaller audience than popular music enjoyed). Old traditions, received assumptions, and orthodox frameworks of what it meant to be Brazilian were being rejected, interrogated, or recombined by various artists for a Brazilian public subject to democratic constraint, censorship, and a highly fraught nationalist sentiment; activist artists searched for new

² *Diagnóstico Mercadológico do Carnaval 2009* (Salvador: SalTur, 2009), 2. I am extremely grateful to Merina Aragão of SalTur who gave me access to this and other documents.

ways to reveal and depict what Brazilian culture really was, beyond the timeworn debates of cultural nationalists and the patriotic slogans of the generals.³

It was in this context that the discourse of popular participation in Salvador's carnival became amplified nationally, resulting in a new symbolic valuation and unprecedented growth of a festival once seen as merely a poor copy of Rio de Janeiro's. The spontaneity, modernity, and impulse toward reinvention that fostered the country's first "electric carnival" and its massive unstructured crowds tapped in to a broadbased desire to experience anew the power of the collective, denied at the voting booth and stratified in Rio's Sambadrome, but attainable on Salvador's streets. Musician Caetano Veloso, a highly visible⁴ and influential interpreter of the *trio elétrico* phenomenon, related it to a localized confluence of the forces of modernity and social energy:

With a million residents dispersed in everything from new apartment buildings to improvised huts and old mansions, watching TV and going to movies, eating pizza with Fratelli Vita *guarana*, Salvador can no longer be constrained within the folkloric language we have become accustomed to use to describe it. The city doesn't speak that language or even understand it. They tell me the *trio elétrico* has existed for twenty years. I know them from my infancy. Aboard those decorated trucks, illuminated with fluorescent lamps, musicians are making Bahian carnival the most lively festival in Brazil, in contrast to Rio, where carnival is a rehearsed spectacle, the same as it ever was; watching all that staged luxury pass by, the *cariocas* themselves are made tourists. But here, as the city is transforming, the *trio* musicians have reinvented carnival.⁵

If Rio's carnival was rendering *cariocas* into strangers and outsiders (if not outright foreigners) in their own city, according to Veloso, true national identity and

³ Carlos Fico analyzes the "repertoire of representations" deployed by the military regime to connote patriotism, order, and technocratic optimism in "A ditadura mostra a sua cara: Imagens e memórias do período 1964-1985," paper presented at "The Cultures of Dictatorship: Historical Reflections on the Brazilian Golpe of 1964," University of Maryland, October 14-16, 2004.

⁴ Veloso was born in Bahia but established his career in the southeast of Brazil, where by 1967 he was appearing on nationally-televised song festivals in his early Tropicália phase, singing "Alegria Alegria" on TV Record's III Festival of MPB (Brazilian popular music). His colleague Gilberto Gil also performed there, with his iconic "Domingo no Parque." Sean Stroud, "'Música é para o povo cantar': Culture, Politics, and Brazilian Song Festivals," *Latin American Music Review*, vol. 21 (2), Fall/Winter 2000, 87-117.

⁵ Caetano Veloso, liner notes to the first LP by Tapajós, *Trio Elétrico Tapajós* (Philips P-632.927-L, 1969).

national spirit were being fomented in Salvador through carnival innovation. And yet, at the same time, and overlapping with those values, diverse local and national trends—the rise of crime in Salvador, the increasing importance of tourism to the city and state, the entrepreneurial instincts of *trio* musicians and others, a growing middle class and expanding consumerism—Salvador’s carnival would be constrained by new hegemonies: not the weight of tradition, or the imposition of centralization on the festival (although that increased somewhat too), or a strong government presence in general. Rather, the reassertion by the mid-late 1970s of class distinction with the private *blocos* of elite revelers built on the same discourse of popular participation, with a shift in signification. The “citizens” of Salvador’s carnival, wherever they came from, were conceived as equal in having options to express themselves and revel as they chose, and no option was judged better or worse. “Play as you wish... Each has his own way to pass carnival,”⁶ the papers affirmed. The contradiction was in the reality that wealthier celebrants had far more options (such as displaying their means to onlookers by appearing in an elite private carnival club with its own *trio elétrico*). The carnival of popular participation quickly provided fertile soil for the seeds of its own rebirth as spectacle.

As Salvador’s carnival grew in scale and touristic appeal over these decades, the city was simultaneously straining to accommodate its growing population of poor and undereducated people (most were people of color).⁷ Indices of theft, muggings, and violent crime rose, and the street was increasingly viewed as unsafe. The longstanding racialization of class difference in Salvador led to an association by the local elite (reified

⁶ Advertisement for the newspaper, *Diário de Notícias*, 07 February 1970; “Cada um tem o seu modo de passar o carnaval,” *Diário de Notícias*, 21-24 February 1971.

⁷ The 1958 official Salvador tour book cites population growth from 417, 235 in 1950 to 551, 000 (estimated) in 1958, or 32% in 8 years. *Rotoiro Turístico da Cidade do Salvador* (Salvador: Imprensa Oficial da Bahia, 1958), s/p.

by the relative whiteness and spending power of tourists) of the street disorder with Afro-Bahians, including during carnival. As a result of these tensions, the re-privatization of the *trio elétricos*' open, democratic carnival space, through creating private, fee-charging clubs around the attraction of a particular celebrity *trio* band, separated by cords from other revelers, brought class and race exclusivity back to the the street festivity. And the founders of the *trio elétrico*, one of whom had once voiced the idea that what they were doing was a form of folklore, found themselves marginalized from a quickly rationalizing carnival business they helped establish. This was in part due to their refusal to place a rope around their sound truck and charge the public to enter, and their ensuing reliance for financial support on the patronage of conservative politician Antônio Carlos Magalhães (1927-2007)—in different eras the mayor of Salvador and the governor of Bahia, as well as holding diverse national offices—and the Bahian tourism department.

There were other contradictions to the way Salvador's carnival developed and expanded as a commercial success. The growing dominance of the private *bloco de trio* format did not cause, but contributed to along with many other factors, a homogenization of carnival over time, with traditional practices associated with poorer residents—notably the samba schools—fading away for lack of support (in terms of public enthusiasm as well as financial resources). The rise of the *blocos afro* in the mid-late 1970s, and their expansion in the 1980s, provided an additional boost of innovation to carnival. But although they were heralded by local and international observers as a movement for social change based on racial consciousness, they have found themselves trapped by highly divergent ideals and realities—not the least of which is fact that private investment has pointedly not favored them (due to fears of association with a racialized discourse,

perhaps, but also, as was the case with samba schools throughout Brazil, the perception that participants and followers of the *bloco afro* movement lack the means to be avid consumers) which leaves them at the mercy to a noted extent of the support of often ideologically conservative government patrons.⁸ More recently, national organizations such as Petrobrás have joined a host of international NGOs lending support to the *blocos afro*, since private investment remains elusive. That the nature of opportunities offered by an increasingly globalized cultural economy for people involved with the *blocos afro* (and other Afro-Bahian cultural forms such as *capoeira*) encourage individual strategies rather than collective solidarity and mobilization has been noted.⁹

Dodô and Osmar and their next generation saw nothing wrong with relying on state patronage. Osmar had believed that cultural production should promote tourism and vice versa. As his son Aroldo recently affirmed,¹⁰ carnival should be free for all without the barrier to pay to join a private *bloco* club, hence the need for public funding. In 2000, Armandinho also argued that the hegemonic collusion of carnival administration with the business leaders of the private *blocos de trio* (there was, in practice, little separation between the two groups) was stripping the festival of its authenticity, and he invoked a folkloric argument: “before, in the beginning, the culture was generated by the people for the *trios*, spontaneously. Now the culture is generated as a product by the mass media, especially corporate radio and TV shows like Xuxa and Faustão, for the *trios*. Independent *trios* like ours are condemned to extinction. Creativity has gone out the

⁸ This was mentioned, although discreetly in an endnote, in Dunn’s otherwise exhortatory “Afro-Bahian Carnival: A Stage for Protest.”

⁹ Piers Armstrong, “The Aesthetic Escape Hatch: *carnaval*, *blocos afro* and the Mutations of *baianidade* under the Signs of Globalisation and re-Africanisation” (*Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies* 5:2, 1999).

¹⁰ Aroldo Macedo, personal communication, Salvador, Bahia, 09 January 2012.

window, and it's the entrepreneurial motive to sell everything as a strategically planned package."¹¹ Only state intervention could free Salvador's carnival from the clutches of commercialism, level the playing field, and help restore the integrity of the festival.

Of course, the basic attitude of Salvador's government toward touristic events for decades had been to gain money from them, not spend more on them; after all, tourism had long been praised in Brazil and around the world as an "industry without a chimney" and a quick source of hard currency.¹² But more broadly, at the same time consumer culture was on the rise in Brazil in the 1970s, fueled for the wealthier classes by the exconomic expansion of the Miracle years, new and unprecedented state intervention in carnival would also have been highly unpopular due the wider political context. The government (of both Salvador and Bahia) has long had to balance its own hegemonic and economic strategies to control carnival for its own benefit with maintaining the widely-held perception that what makes carnival special is its unique spontaneity and "popular participation." But popularity, to what would have been the chagrin of the leaders of Brazil's midcentury folklore movement, was increasingly measured in market share. By the 1990s, the cultural industry's model of economic development intersected with tourism strategies to inspire new innovations in research, advertising, and joint ventures around a carnival whose cultural achievements were being assessed financially. Bahian

¹¹ "Armandinho: Herdeiro e memória do carnaval de Dodô & Osmar," *ViverBahia* 1 #5, 2000, 13-14 (this is a new magazine linked to Bahiatursa with the same name as the one begun in 1973).

¹² In 1963, the United Nations Conference on Tourism and International Travel in Rome declared that tourism "made a vital contribution to the economic development of developing countries," and that "it is incumbent on governments to stimulate and coordinate national tourist activities." Marie-Francoise Lanfant observes, "At the end of the 1960s numerous regions of the world, deprived and far removed from the centers of industrial development, were simultaneously transformed into resorts for thousands of holiday-makers from the great metropolises of the industrial world. One cannot understand the triggering of such a process without considering the politics of tourist promotion, which was then being organized on a global scale, under the direction of international organizations." See Lanfant, "Introduction: Tourism, Internationalization and Identity," in Marie-Françoise Lanfant, John B. Allcock and Edward Bruner, *International Tourism: Identity and Change* (London: Sage Publications, 1995), pp. 2, 26. See also Colin Michael Hall, *Tourism and Politics* (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 1994),

economist Paulo Miguez enthused that “Bahian carnival in its present form qualifies as a megabusiness capable of generating multiple products (music, artists, organizations, and the *trio elétrico* medium), linking itself through multiple pathways to the culture industry in all its forms (radio, television, recording industry, leisure industry), showing how development strategies can emerge from dialogues between tradition and innovation.”¹³

The influential conservative newsweekly magazine *Veja* declared after 1993’s festivities that Salvador’s carnival “Beat Rio’s” in terms of cultural vibrancy and invention, sheer scale, and of course economic gain—including performance fees, private *bloco* memberships, record sales, and tourist receipts measured in lodging, food, souvenirs, and even cab fare.¹⁴ Determining which city claimed the prestige of fostering the national carnival was deeply symbolic, rather than an objective quality in which the people’s affinities could be measured—although the numbers deriving from tourism receipts and the city’s accounting, combined with Salvador’s innovative carnival culture which was becoming fashionable to consume among Brazilians as a whole, all presented a persuasive argument. Of course, Salvador’s carnival was hardly the first to find that local cultural innovation, tourist appeal, and mass-mediation were all basic to determining the location of Brazil’s national carnival; these elements had helped Rio de Janeiro claim the title in the mid-late 1930s, driven by the city’s glamour and the excitement surrounding its still-young samba schools—although Rio had also benefited from being the nation’s capital, a sensible symbolic choice for the seat of Brazilian carnival as well as the center of its period culture industry. An additional factor affecting

¹³ Paulo Miguez, “Cultura, Festa, e Cidade,” *Revista de Desenvolvimento Econômico* 1 #1, November 1998, 46-7.

¹⁴ “Racistas São Eles,” *Veja* ; “A Bahia Ganhou: O Que Faz a Magia do País Baiano Explodir no Carnaval,” *Veja* 24 February 1993.

national perception of Rio by the 1990s was the increase in violence there, both between gangs and the police and between police and locals (notably the homeless, especially street children) associated with the city's hosting of the Earth Summit in 1992. Fear of violence in Rio was cited by then-director of Emtursa Washington Santos just prior to 1993 carnival, when the media was heating up the so-called "war between the festivals," as an important factor driving tourism to Salvador.¹⁵ But even before 1993, Guilherme Araújo, one of the principal entrepreneurs in Rio's carnival salon scene, observed that Rio's event was too resistant to change—and it was suffering from both a lack of unstructured, spontaneous street culture and the related absence of young people, who were seeking entertainment and a sense of belonging and expression beyond a tradition-bound and spectacular carnival.

In the clubs they insist on old music, old songs, and antiquated costumes; is the harlequin still relevant today? The punk movement is more interesting and colorful than the figures we've always copied from European carnival. The youth are gravitating away from carnival, and to rock and roll. They aren't attracted to the carnival of the past, and in fact the way people measure carnival's success here is by counting people parading in the samba schools. A school with 2,500 members is impressive, but means nothing in light of the countless potential revelers we are excluding. I think the *trio elétrico* could be the model for a renovation here. We need something like our own *trio elétrico* in Rio so that, as happened in Bahia, the young people are attracted to carnival and get involved.¹⁶

Ultimately, Salvador's carnival beat Rio's in the media because it was constructed as vibrant, innovative, forward-looking, and profitable—with its claim of popular participation appealing to the key sectors of young people and tourists. Perhaps it was a symbolic victory, but it had rapid effects in Salvador. By 1995, Emtursa, the city's tourism authority, was declaring the event "The Carnival of Brazil," and collecting

¹⁵ "A Guerra das Folias," *Veja*, 20 January 1993, 40.

¹⁶ "Entrevista: Guilherme Araújo, O Empresário da Folia," *Veja*, 05 February 1986, 6.

clippings from the São Paulo and Rio press that agreed.¹⁷ Salvador's journalists, tourism officials, and other city boosters had been asserting the national significance of Salvador's carnival since the 1970s, and finally the rest of Brazil was catching up and seeing it for themselves. The official themes and iconography associated with carnival by its administrators—the brand or logo of each carnival, placed on everything from billboards to pamphlets—grew expansive in their claims of peace, happiness, and national significance. By the mid-90s both the local and national press were posing Salvador's carnival as a case study of success in the (post)modern cultural economy, or economy of leisure, with important lessons to teach the rest of Brazil.¹⁸ Clearly, “popular participation” remained a key subjective assessment of the success of its festival, but, with the improved metrics to measure the economic impact of carnival's consumption practices and tourism (especially the desirable demographic of international tourists), the value of that participation was shifting from purely symbolic to include the tangible.

The extant historiography gives the impression that all these transformations—in both the content / form of Salvador's carnival, and its national reception—are strictly related to the racial articulations and (often only implicit) political challenges of the *blocos afro*. The emergence of the first *bloco afro*, Ilê Aiyê, in 1974-5, helped catalyze many important cultural developments in Salvador's carnival, bringing pride and political awareness to a new generation of young Afro-Bahians. Their calls for rights and recognition fit smoothly into a carnival discursively (if not practically) rooted in popular participation, values of liberty, and the festive performance of democracy. But it was the

¹⁷ Some of these are reproduced in Emtursa's internal report on its expansion of carnival administration and the wider carnival economy, 1994: *O Salto de Qualidade do Carnaval do Salvador*.

¹⁸ “A ‘Baianização’ do Brasil. O Mercado Axé exporta *know-how*, detonando um fenômeno cultural importante e merecedor de reflexão: a ‘trietetrização’ (ou ‘baianização’) do País,” *A Tarde* (Salvador), 31 May 1995; “A Economia do Axé,” *Gazeta Mercantil* (São Paulo), 6-8 February 1998.

trio elétrico that had been at the center of this process earlier, stimulating those discourses, orienting the focus, and shaping Salvador's carnival as a truly innovative cultural and commercial phenomenon, attracting tourists, media attention and prestige while ultimately transcending seasonality to "carnivalize" local cultural production. Mass media and official rhetoric helped recycle and reinforce the notion that Salvador's distinct musical creativity and festivity fueled a year-round party that was always new, always unpredictable, and (critical for tourism boosting) had to be experienced to be believed.

The Ascendant Consensus of "Popular Participation"

Starting in the mid-1960s, from a diverse range of sources—local and national media, tourism literature, nationally-released 45 r.p.m. and long-play recordings, and *trio* performative culture itself—the conception of Salvador's carnival as popular, and democratic, came to be common currency. My goal in this section is not to provide a complete catalog of such references but to highlight for analysis representative and important examples of the discourse as it formed. While some of the spheres can easily be understood as distinct and independent, i.e. the rhetoric of professional musicians Caetano Veloso and Gilberto Gil should not be taken as embodying Bahian state tourism concerns, there was also considerable overlap in the endeavors: Veloso's prominence and eager participation with the *trios* Dodô and Osmar and Tapajós brought the *trios* national visibility and credibility, enhancing their touristic appeal (and that of Salvador's carnival more broadly), while Gil, who endorsed Dodô and Osmar's *trio* by providing a song and liner notes to their 1976 LP, was also active in other efforts directly or indirectly related to solidifying local tourism.¹⁹ Uniting all these actors, initiatives, and discourses was the

¹⁹ Soon after returning from exile in London in 1972, Gil encountered the *afoxé* Filhos de Gandhi in dire straits (much as the media had been reporting): "They were down to around twenty members, lacking the

perception (no matter how idealized) that what made Salvador's carnival unique in a country ruled by generals was, in effect, the way it reflected the spontaneous, collective energy of the people—the power of the people—who, in the liberty and equality offered by carnival, were “voting” for various attractions and experiences with their presence and participation, and perhaps their money as well. Right before the rise of the private fee-charging *blocos de trio*, in 1983, a news release from city hall linked a free-market mentality (welcoming private investment) with values of democracy: “The festival this year will cost Cr\$600 million *cruzeiros* to put on, but the city spends nothing—it's all coming from sponsoring businesses! And there will be no more appointing of the King Momo by decree; it'll be a public competition with a jury.”²⁰ The sense conveyed is that government should merely facilitate the expression of popular will through such forms as public votes and the workings of the market in its carnival administration. That in 2009 the public vote for the person to represent King Momo began to be held strictly over the Internet was praised as an advance in official carnival literature²¹ but, given the highly unequal access of locals to such technology, seemed in effect to restrict further who the “public” of Salvador's carnival was imagined as being.

resources and motivation to participate in carnival,” he told Antônio Risério in 1981 (Risério, *Carnaval Ijexá*, 53). One source suggests they did not participate in carnival in 1974 or 1975 (“Filhos de Gandhi volta e mostra que não morreu,” *Diário de Notícias*, 08-9 February 1976). Gil helped with fundraising, appeared with the group during carnival, and used his media exposure to promote the *afoxé*. Gil also worked more directly with local officials to create links between cultural production, tourism, and economic development: in December 1975, he participated in a three-day seminar, sponsored by Bahiatursa and its Research Program in the Potential of Bahian Artistic and Cultural Patrimony, focusing on “the importance of music for Bahian culture and the growth of tourism in the state.” Other participants included writers / music critics Tárík de Souza and Sérgio Cabral, musician Capinam, and historian Cid Teixeira. (“Música Baiana em seminário,” *ViverBahia* #33, June 1976, 22). Gil served as the Coordinator of the Popular Music Working Group, and extended his responsibilities after the event by serving on a Permanent Group that would “work with city hall in the implantation of a Culture Plan for the city based on what came out of our seminars (“Tudo Redunda,” *ViverBahia* #23, August 1975). He refers to other documents produced during the seminars which would provide excellent reading today if they exist.

²⁰ “Os 100 anos de folia no carnaval da Bahia,” *Correio da Bahia*, 07 October 1983.

²¹ “Rei Momo Eleito,” *Carnaval de Salvador, Programação 2009*.

The older examples analyzed below are taken from the rhetoric of local newspapers, from events surrounding the return of Caetano Veloso from exile and his appearance in carnival in Salvador in 1972, and from the Trio Elétrico Dodô and Osmar's 1976 LP, the group's second, then prominently featuring guitarist Armandinho.

Constructing the Popular Carnival (I) - "Who's in Charge of the Party?"

Salvador's local journalists were closer to carnival than other national media writers; likely considered themselves a sort of insider and authority (since there were regularly representatives from the Association of Carnival Journalists on the official judging panels, and newspapers were longstanding investors in carnival culture due to advertising relationships with private businesses); and, more than other mediators we will discuss, had an audience that was local by definition. Taken in survey, their period work offers later observers the clear view of a tension in establishment descriptions of carnival's context for Bahian readers: there was a delicate balance to be made between attributing carnival's innovations, successes, and growth to the people outright, versus constructing a case for what the government actually did to facilitate or provide it.

Of course, generalizations are imprudent, because individual journalists or editorial boards could articulate different positions over time. But in a survey of newspaper reporting on carnival from roughly 1950-1975 in Salvador's main dailies at the time (*A Tarde*, *Diário de Notícias*, *Estado da Bahia*), it was rare after mid-1964 and the military takeover to find high praise being sung of government efforts to centralize, orchestrate, or otherwise intervene in carnival, which was increasingly constructed as festival of and by the people: a 1975 headline declared that "101 carnival entities will be

responsible for making happiness and animation reign in the city,”²² a vision of the balance of festive power that contrasts with one expressed in a 1959 article praising the director of the Tourism Department for devising a “beautiful vision” of local carnival culture to offer to tourists arriving on the ship “Argentina,” with the mayor using the offer of “luxurious and graceful trophies” to inspire the *povo* in the competing clubs to present a more animated competition.²³ By 1976, terms had reversed; city hall declared that instead of holding the competitions of various types of carnival group over the four days of carnival, it would hold them all on Sunday to get them out of the way and “allow carnival to be as spontaneous as possible and the revelers to celebrate as they wish, unhindered and undistracted.”²⁴ This shows how the media could be used as a vehicle for official statements to reach the reading public. Similarly, in 1968, the director of Public Diversions for Sutura, Antônio Tourinho, made a statement to the press “thanking the *trios elétrico* for their participation, because they are principally responsible for the animation of carnival in the city center as well as in the neighborhoods.”²⁵ These different representations of the autonomy and initiative of the people suggests that the local newspapers were active participants along with government and the culture performers in the construction and amplification of the discourse of carnival’s popular participation along the period. But if articles could reflect an ideal vision of the festival’s collective and democratic potential, as we shall see, they could also be reflective of its limitations in a society stratified by class and race.

²² “Cento e uma entidades farão o Carnaval 1975.”

²³ “Carnaval,” *A Tarde* (Salvador), 06 February 1959.

²⁴ “Decoração do carnaval fica pronta na quinta,” *Diário de Notícias*, 24 February 1976.

²⁵ “Tourinho satisfeito: ‘o carnaval baiano de 68 foi um dos mais animados’.”

A poignant example of a major daily praising government involvement and exuding local pride within the broader strategies of tourism, economic development, and carnival's centralization was published in the carnival season of 1964, just prior to the coup, and even then it was sensitive to the most dynamic characteristic of local carnival: its public street manifestations. Written by veteran reporter Carlos D'Avila, the article, "Carnival: Contagious lunacy for the masses,"²⁶ states that Salvador's carnival, "more than the sum of its parts," is now an "authentic and victorious tourist attraction like those of Rio de Janeiro and Recife"—due to a "promotion" of "our carnival in a specific sense, one that values popular carnival, the carnival of the street." That year carnival had welcomed an impressive 6,000 tourists, and D'Avila analyzed this successful new promotion of carnival in two ways. First, he fits it into a "new tourist-industry mentality in the city after 1959, which was also reflected in the construction of more and better hotels,"²⁷ for him, the prestige given to local carnival reflected an astute awareness among elected officials of its new distinctive qualities, and the officials' capable launching of Salvador into the national and international tourist marketplace as never before. He praised their coordination of diverse municipal departments, including police, transit, emergency services, lighting, public works, inspection of street commerce, and sanitation, along with advertising across diverse Brazilian media as the necessary

²⁶ "Carnaval: loucura que contagia multidões," *A Tarde* (Salvador), 1-2 February 1964.

²⁷ In 1959, Salvador mayor Gustavo Fonseca created the Municipal Secretariat of Education and Culture through law 912 of 04 April, which institutionalized tourism efforts to an unprecedented degree under its Department of Tourism and Public Diversions, DTDP (Queiroz, *Turismo na Bahia*, 56). The director of the DTDP, Carlos Vasconcelos Maia, oversaw a range of initiatives, from the preservation of Salvador's cultural patrimony to new advertising, and tax policies favorable to investment in tourism infrastructure; Queiroz highlights his "three overarching strategies: creation of a touristic mentality; expansion of hotels; and organization of technical courses to train residents to work effectively in the tourism field" (ibid., 57). He drew on a broad personal network of "artists, intellectuals, journalists in newspapers and radio, and businessmen... [and] achieved a great advance in city marketing and cultural management" (ibid., 59). Restoring the traditional *folgado* of the *ternos de reis* was also part of the Tourism Department's new projects, an effort cited in the January 1964 appearance of eight *ternos* in Praça da Sé, with an audience of twenty thousand people ("A noite de reis," *A Tarde* [Salvador], 06 January 1964).

logistics to stage a “lucrative carnival.” Noting the protestations of an unnamed city councilman that Salvador was investing and meddling too much in carnival when “it’s the people that make the party”, D’Avila dismissed them as sentimental, traditionalist claptrap: the festival must be understood in terms of its “economic functions” and it was the government’s role to get involved and use it as an opportunity to invest the public’s money for a substantial return.

The second aspect of D’Avila’s prioritizing of the state role in fostering a “Bahian carnival that was more brilliant and expressive each year” was expressed in the instrumentalist terms of centralizing and ordering public carnival culture that are familiar from the period debates we have explored in Rio de Janeiro and Recife. He noted that the founding of the Federation of Carnival Clubs (also in 1959) had been executed under the direct auspices of the mayor; and “with the formation of this entity it was possible for city hall to *discipline* the marvelous beauty of these groups, previously independent and chaotic, into one momentous parade, fabulous in its color, choreography, rhythm, intelligence, and good taste... and thus was the focal point of carnival centralized, facilitating its marketing both inside and outside the state” [my emphasis].

D’Avila’s reading of the growth of Salvador’s carnival in terms of scale and appeal (the “result” of which, for him, could be objectively measured in numbers of non-Bahian tourists expected) is notable for privileging the initiatives and wise stewardship of local government; the people’s festival needed discipline and rationality. He perceives a brilliant hegemonic move by city fathers in the creation of the Federation of Carnival Clubs, although this was an organization with less coherence and less at stake than its sister group in Recife. It negotiated with the city on which categories of groups paraded

on which days, and lobbied for subsidies, but official control of it was relatively weak since competitions were voluntary. There was far less emphasis in Salvador on maintaining traditional types of *folgado*; and subsidies were not consistently or even often given out on a systematic basis. For that matter, the government could be slow awarding even modest cash prizes to the victorious clubs. Only in 1970 did the winners of 1968 carnival receive their checks.²⁸ D'Avila accurately left out representatives of the *trios* from his list of Federation members (he mentions small clubs and *cordões*, *blocos*, *afoxés*, *batucadas*, and samba schools), but also ignored them for most of the article, only referring briefly to suspense over which *trio* would win the competition this year—assuming they would participate. This type of reporting glossed over the existence of the ambulant *trios*, perhaps because in 1964 they were not yet taken by many observers to be represent the symbol and energy of Salvador's carnival. At the same time, most of the *trios* were exploring models of not just self-sufficiency but profit through private investment, and hence keeping a certain autonomy from relationships of dependency on the state. Dodô and Osmar were the main exception, although they were not participating in carnival then, and Orlando Campos's Tapajós had the clout to demand state support even if he needed it less than other *trios* might have. Indeed, unlike Recife's carnival where groups had to be licensed to appear in the official route, a 1970 account of Salvador's festival indicates that right after the parade of groups affiliated with the carnival club passed by the platform of judges and politicians, the *trios* and other allegorical floats started their parade down the very same street.²⁹ In a 1972 article, the city's tourism director, Antônio Tourinho, noted that while two *trios* had signed up for

²⁸ "Clubes carnavalescos receberam prêmios conquistados em 1968," *Estado da Bahia*, 5 February 1970.

²⁹ *Estado da Bahia*, 05 February 1970.

the competition “the fact is that nobody knows how many will actually appear on the streets.”³⁰ But significantly, D’Avila’s 1964 article draws consistent attention to city efforts to shape and improve carnival, to stabilize and rationalize it, and to package it for export—in a rhetorical manner that flattered officials as sagacious and prudent culture managers, working for the greater good while the people frolicked. In its paradigm, carnival *needed* the state to succeed; and so, by extension, did the newspaper’s readers.

In the ensuing years, as the military regime intensified, the nature of state involvement in carnival would be downplayed considerably in the local press. Rather than being praised for intervening strategically, which could represent a distasteful symbol of the military coup itself for journalists working under censorship since late 1968, officials would be characterized more often as merely providing a “stage” for the popular phenomenon erupting around them. This sort of removed or distant populism was clear in a pair of articles appearing in the *Diário de Notícias* in early February 1972: the first was a warm account of the visit of President Médici to Salvador to spend a couple of days just prior to carnival;³¹ the second, an editorial on the strengths of local carnival, and the need to allow it to develop organically.³² Médici came to discuss the modernization of Salvador’s ports and roadways, as well as the development of the area around the São Francisco River Valley in Bahia’s interior, with governor Antônio Carlos Magalhães and “numerous high authorities” over various private lunches and dinners, “intimate” cocktails, and exchanges of engraved plaques. Along its paragraphs the first report carefully linked local carnival exuberance (put on display for Médici in advance of the

³⁰ “Trio elétrico é o que não falta pra você brincar,” *Diário de Notícias*, 11 February 1972.

³¹ “As alegrias da cidade,” *Diário de Notícias*, 10 February 1972.

³² “Nosso carnaval exportação,” *Diário de Notícias*, 12 February 1972.

festival itself) and the rapid growth of the city to the presence of urban infrastructure thoughtfully provided by a watchful and effective but non-meddling government.

After he signed the Special Program for the São Francisco Valley, redeeming a substantial tract of the northeast long gripped by dissatisfactions of all sorts, there was celebration at night—an explosion of carnival happiness, distinguished by the presence of a leader who never concerned himself with the facile popularity conquered through demographic posturing, but who through the truth of his actions became one of the most popular Brazilian presidents... Salvador, an island of calm in the turbulence of humanity, the Promised Land where tourists from around Brazil replenish their national spirit and come to learn lessons of life, is also growing rapidly, impatiently surging... Avenues and viaducts must be constantly extended, with asphalt covering most of the city's surfaces, to allow more space, speed, security—a contribution to the city's own rhythms, rhythms of growth, doing away with hindrances of bottleneck and confusion which interrupt the activities of daily life here, which grow more animated every day.³³

This is an image of the state as facilitator, a prudent stage manager, orchestrating public works to support the uninterrupted progress of the popular enthusiasm and dynamic pageantry of life in Salvador—represented in its vibrant carnival culture. The perspective of the state apparatus as a distant enabler grows clearer in context of the next article, on carnival itself, a festival depicted as belonging to the people and being the responsibility of everyone.

By now we can say we have an export-quality carnival, because of its fame throughout and beyond Brazil which attracts more and more tourists each year in search of something different, less standardized, and above all more spontaneous in terms of popular participation. And no other carnival outshines that of Bahia, which is truly a festival by the people, for the people... Notice how, even among the Bahians who choose to sit and watch but still be close to the action, they prefer to bring their own chairs and benches and homey crates, creating spontaneous structures lining the streets, rather than join the tourists in the repetitive rows of bleachers... Our carnival is on the street, a carnival of people, with all the warmth and energy that only a *trio elétrico* is capable of generating as one of the most authentic carnival creations on earth... It is necessary for us Bahians to recognize how to take advantage of this carnival, but without allowing a certain promotional calculation to dominate, which would transform it into a

³³ “As alegrias da cidade.”

mere “export carnival,” built according to plan, which in no time would bore and annoy our visitors. We must strive to ensure that carnival keeps its Bahian character, a carnival of Bahia that only exists here.³⁴

This piece, praising the unique qualities of Bahian carnival and boasting of its power as a tourist attraction, nonetheless departs from the earlier, pre-coup view of D’Avila that deliberate cultivation by state authority was fundamental. Here, it was argued that such external attempts to change it and force it into a standard-model tourist attraction would destroy it, killing the goose who lays golden eggs. As if by instinct, Salvador’s locals avoid the bleachers that impose a superficial aesthetic formulaicness on a festival that defies it; and it is the responsibility of all Bahians, not the state, to understand what they have, protect its integrity, and allow it to flourish.

The multivalence of these two articles stems from the way they engage the value of a “carnival of popular participation” in a local newspaper during an intense period of military dictatorship. In a sense, they both present the undemocratic ruling class in a form that class would appreciate—not as unwelcome domineering intruders, but as mere facilitators of an ongoing and successful set of socio-cultural manifestations, experiments, and exchanges. The fact that such a carnival is occurring at all under a dictatorship that has implemented surveillance and torture is remarkable, even if that carnival expressivity is also linked to the blunter facts of rapid city growth and population increase. But, while the state helps this carnival to occur in background logistical ways—streets, lighting, et cetera, it is not needed or called for as an agent of order to any fundamental degree as over decades the state had made itself the center of gravity in the official carnivals of Rio de Janeiro and Recife. The piece on carnival approaches a

³⁴ “Nosso carnaval exportação.”

revolutionary undertone when it suggests “We should do everything to be sure carnival has something of the peculiar character of our civic commemoration on the second of July, *Dois de julho*”³⁵—a day celebrated as Bahian independence from Portugal, realized on that day in 1823 but begun two years earlier, and representing the state’s pioneering moves toward independence before the more generalized wars of liberation as Brazil transitioned from colonial rule. That a war of liberation might be needed again, drawing from the deep wellsprings of liberty in Bahia, remains a tantalizing subtext. On the other hand, a radically opposite reading could be made: the people are happy and proceeding in their lives and festivities in spite of the military coup itself, because the regime (a target of protests and even violence in some quarters) perhaps is not as dramatically negative an intervention as its critics take it to be.

This analysis suggests the complex cultural and intellectual atmosphere as Salvador’s *trio*-driven carnival was physically expanding and beginning to attract tourists in impressive numbers in the early 1970s. In a sense, these articles’ discourse was a form of compromise; the ruling authorities could be depicted in a complimentary manner, and carnival as a sort of idealized space of being something “by the people, for the people” could exist at the same time. Of course, the ambiguity of carnival’s symbolic power here is stark: perhaps its success was presented as a contrast with the dictatorship, a performance of collectivity and native democracy to counterbalance or even threaten the military regime. But at the same time, carnival was described as eminently local and concerned with happiness and self-gratification. It was a source of local pride; it made money. And if democracy could not exist in the political sphere, perhaps it could find new avenues of expression here, and perhaps that was good enough for the moment.

³⁵ “Nosso carnaval exportação.”

Such diverse readings of these two texts are possible, not just because they may embody the advantages of vagueness under censorship (reflected in diverse areas of Brazilian cultural production at the time), but also because the notion of what “popular participation” represented in an ideal form among Bahian journalists also ran into practical limitations that were rooted first in class, and second (but a close second) in race. Consider that the carnival article argued that Bahians did not frequent the city-mounted bleachers, which, it did accurately note, had an entry fee.³⁶ Wealthy tourists from Rio or São Paulo could easily pay to sit in relative comfort with a better view, while poorer people could not. But within the text, the decision to avoid the bleachers by locals was equated to a choice of self-assertion, a proud display of the “spontaneity that Bahians cultivate in all their activities.” This mode of participation was given equal symbolic weight to all other forms of carnival spontaneity, even if decades of coexistence with the old crates and broken chairs along the carnival route (and the eccentric legal measures to restrict them) meant that local readers would equate these carnival participants, “who were in their own way mixing with the people,” inescapably with poor Afro-Bahians.

This was part of a notable tendency in the cohering mainstream conception of Salvador’s carnival of popular participation, one that delicately elided distinctions in race and class: Every individual Bahian was imagined as an equal, rational actor, sharing all the same legitimate and equal choices in how to celebrate carnival. Hence the more explicitly derisive article that appeared a year earlier in the *Diário de Notícias* entitled “Everyone is the shareholder of a Trio Elétrico.”³⁷ Carnival options are provided in the

³⁶ That year, the fee was 15 *cruzeiros* for Sunday or Tuesday, and 10 *cruzeiros* for Monday; it was expected that the majority of customers would be tourists, followed by the elderly. “Tudo pronto para que o Carnaval vire a cidade,” *Diário de Notícias*, 12 February 1972.

³⁷ “Todo mundo é ‘sócio’ do Trio Elétrico no carnaval,” *Diário de Notícias*, 21-24 February 1971.

text for “those who want to spend some money” and those who do not want to spend some money. There are the elite grand clubs or the athletic clubs, where you might choose to spend 300 *cruzeiros* or more; you could select to parade with one of Salvador’s champion samba schools, where a costume might cost 150 *cruzeiros*; or, like Antonio Miranda Conceição, a shoeshiner who works near a downtown bank (read: Afro-Bahian and poor), you might opt for a *trio elétrico*, “where you don’t have to spend any money... Antonio is one of the many partners, the board of shareholders, of a *trio elétrico*.” Being a shareholder connotes ownership, a status subverted by the fact that celebrating with a *trio elétrico* was among the more attractive and popular cost-free options for Salvador’s lower classes. The article is serious in tone, and not satiric. But its injection of corporate lingo ironizes with pointed cynicism the loftier ideals surrounding Salvador’s carnival of popular participation, at least in its immediate social effects.

Nonetheless, the wider embrace of those ideals revealed in a preponderance of news articles suggests both pride in the local phenomenon, and also perhaps a keen sense of their relevance in the wider political context. As Dodô and Osmar emerged in 1973 to plan their twenty-five year anniversary parade, they received considerable attention from the local media in retrospectives and interviews. In the presence of the creators of the *trio elétrico*, such articles reaffirmed the positive in terms of the *trio* as a locus of collectivity and the breaking of social barriers: “Have you ever imagined what our carnival would be without the *trio elétrico*, its greatest attraction? Everyone goes along with them... Suddenly, people are caught up in their massive, contagious sonic waves and there is no more distinction of color, class, or age.” When asked in that interview why the *trio elétrico* had become the force of “greatest animation” in Salvador’s carnival, Osmar’s

answer reflected an implicit understanding of the *trio*'s touristic appeal in relation to Rio de Janeiro's carnival, as well as an emphasis on active, engaged collectivity: "It is strictly because the people participate in it, no longer being relegated to spectators."³⁸

Constructing the Popular Carnival (2) - The Carnivalization of Democracy? Caetano Veloso Returns from Exile

Caetano Veloso, a Bahian singer, guitarist, and composer who moved with his friend Gilberto Gil from Bahia to São Paulo in 1965, is today one of Brazil's most prominent musicians on the world stage—along with Gil, his principal musical partner in the eclectic Tropicália movement (roughly 1967-1969). Tropicália used the technique of pastiche to reconfigure the nature of Brazilian arts within a rich mixture of influences: theories of national identity deriving from Brazil's 1920s modernist movement, the dictatorship, vanguard aesthetics, and the global culture industry. By 1967, Veloso was a nationally recognized figure and an ambivalent symbol of the youth movement due to his controversial performances on televised song contests, at which he confounded listeners (and viewers) by incorporating traditional Brazilian influences, rock music, seemingly nonsensical lyrics, and an enigmatic and androgynous yet aggressive affect. His career has been the subject of considerable research,³⁹ but what is of interest here is his intersection with the *trio* phenomenon of Salvador's carnival in the years 1969-1973.

Nearly every reasonably thorough account of the history of the *trio elétrico* makes note of the fact that, well before the *trios* themselves had incorporated a singer into their street performances in 1975, Veloso released a song in 1969, "Atrás do Trio Elétrico (Behind the Trio Elétrico)," that was recorded in the energetic, syncopated style of the

³⁸ "Ford-29 conduz trio elétrico."

³⁹ Representative works are Dunn, *Brutality Garden*, and Perrone, *Masters of Contemporary Brazilian Song*. Veloso's own memoir was translated into English under the name *Tropical Truth*.

frevo of the *trios* with lyrics referring directly to Salvador's carnival. The song became a national hit. Some of its lines ("behind the *trio elétrico* / the only ones who don't go are already dead") were quickly incorporated into local tourist marketing and newspaper stories on carnival, and the city's *trios* made instrumental versions of it a staple of their carnival repertoire for revelers to sing along with. Veloso soon released three other 45 rpm singles that were similarly rooted in the sound and experience of carnival in Salvador: "Chuva, Suor e Cerveja (Rain, Sweat, and Beer)" in 1971;⁴⁰ "Um Frevo Novo (A New Frevo)" in 1973 (apparently, but perhaps composed in 1970),⁴¹ along with "Frevo do Trio Elétrico" in 1973, which had been composed by Dodô and Osmar (also unclear when, but perhaps as early as 1953). The latter song referred directly to their "famous" *trio*: "They're the ones who most animate our carnival / The rich and poor, young and old all dance with us." Taken together, the series of songs launched on a national label and national airwaves by a young, controversial artist who appealed to diverse audiences decisively turned the country's attention to the new festival in Salvador. It is no coincidence that the national newsmagazine *Veja e Leia* (better known by its later name, *Veja*) published a large exposé on Salvador's carnival in 1972, with ample references to Veloso's lyrics.⁴² The article's description of the festival sketches a sort of happy chaos of noise and unstructured waves of humanity on the streets, bewildering to the journalists and southern visitors but which a local reveler, a Bahian student of law, interpreted for readers: "It's the democratization of carnival."

⁴⁰ Osmar said he believed this song to be the one actually responsible for sparking interest in the *trio elétrico* in Brazil's south "Ford-29 conduz trio elétrico."

⁴¹ Veloso (*Tropical Truth*, 301) refers to "Chuva, Suor, e Cerveja" and then "'Um Frevo Novo,' which I had composed the year before." The release date on the Brazilian single is 1973.

⁴² "Festa elétrica: Nas ruas de Salvador, milhares de pessoas bincam quase cem horas sem interrupções," *Veja e Leia* #181, 23 February 1972.



Murphy, 15/2/88 - A Praça Castro Alves no final do Terno Foto Apilante
Lima, Telefoto o Estado.

Figure 5: Praça Castro Alves, carnival 1988. Source: Fundação Gregório de Mattos, Salvador.

A young Veloso grew up coming to Salvador from the quiet interior town of Santo Amaro every carnival to witness the *trios* parade, experiencing firsthand their maelstrom of sound and light surrounded by seas of people—each *trio* presenting a different assemblage of mechanical, commercial, and home-made designs, with blinding illumination, gaudy decoration, hybrid forms of erudite and popular music, and gasoline-powered din. Góes constructs a persuasive argument (based on analysis of texts including Veloso’s own writings in the late 1960s and early 1970s) that the boundary-collapsing sonic, visual, and textural aesthetics of the *trio elétrico* influenced Veloso deeply as a young musician, and would reappear in his later intellectual formulations of Tropicália.⁴³ In the story of Veloso’s own experiences during the time period of his *trio*-based

⁴³ Góes, *O País do Carnaval Elétrico*, 68-73. This idea is ignored in Dunn’s *Brutality Garden*, which emphasizes a sort of *auteur* theory with respect to Veloso and Gil’s postmodern musical experiments in São Paulo’s arts scene starting in 1967.

songwriting and recording there is a wider context of events that ultimately joined with the consolidating values of popular participation, and the connotations of democracy in Salvador's carnival. What stands out is how the songs overlap with his imprisonment, forced exile, and rapturous welcome on his return to the streets of carnival in 1972.

1968 had been a busy year for Veloso, who recorded the concept album *Tropicália, ou panis et circensis* with Gilberto Gil, Os Mutantes, Tom Zé, Gal Costa, and others;⁴⁴ he also released his own first solo LP, *Caetano Veloso*. In December, he recorded the song "Atrás do Trio Elétrico" with an ensemble led by composer Rogério Duprat, who had also worked on *Tropicália*.⁴⁵ The single came out nationally in early 1969, becoming a genuine popular hit in Salvador by February—"that carnival was the Carnival of 'Atrás do Trio Elétrico,'" Veloso recalled.⁴⁶ Ironically, however, Veloso himself was not behind a *trio*, but was behind bars at a Parachutist Battalion within a Rio military base. On 27 December 1968, the military regime, acting on vague concerns that recent music and televised appearances of Veloso and Gil had been disrespectful to the nation's flag and anthem, sent police to arrest the musicians at their homes in São Paulo. After two months of imprisonment in Rio de Janeiro, they were placed in house arrest in Salvador once carnival had ended in mid-late February (Veloso recalls it was Ash Wednesday, the day after carnival⁴⁷). Several months later, in July, they were exiled to London until 1972. Veloso was allowed two brief visits back to Brazil during his exile,

⁴⁴ Dunn (*Brutality Garden*, 92-101) provides a helpful analysis of the record's themes and approaches.

⁴⁵ Jairo Severiano and Zuza Homem de Mello, *A Canção no Tempo: 85 Anos de Músicas Brasileiras, Vol. 2, 1958-1985* (São Paulo: Editora 34, 1998), pp. 140-1.

⁴⁶ Veloso, *Tropical Truths*, 257; he later refers again to the 1969 hit, "but I, being in jail, was unable to enjoy that miracle" (300). Dunn (*Brutality Garden*, 207) states the song was written while under house arrest in Salvador in 1969, but does not cite a source or other context. Severiano and Homem de Mello (*A Canção no Tempo*) make the case for the composition and recording date of late 1968 / 1969 release, which is also repeated in Góes (*O País do Carnaval Elétrico*, 71), supporting Veloso's claim.

⁴⁷ Veloso, *Tropical Truths*, 257.

but his January 1972 return was definitive and a symbolic victory against the censorship and oppression of the regime.⁴⁸ After all, before being arrested, one of Veloso's most notorious and studied television performances was in 1967 for his iconic song "É Proibido Proibir (Prohibiting is Prohibited)."

Veloso himself never accepted the image of a political hero or spokesman for the left. On the contrary, he delighted in offending the strict musical nationalists on the left as well as the right of Brazil's cultural-ideological divides. Too, by the early 1970s, the organized leftist opposition in Brazil had largely disintegrated, falling into disillusionment and a sort of atomization fed by the hippie movement with its focus on fleeing mainstream society's concerns into self-gratifying experiences.⁴⁹ It should be noted that the decree of Institutional Act 5 in December 1968 did inspire the organization of several militant groups in Salvador and other Bahian cities in 1969. But aside from a bank robbery in 1970, they tended to be clandestine and weakly organized and did not make any dramatic or effective interventions either with raising the consciousness of laborers, or directly against the regime in general.⁵⁰ Rather, the identification by young TV viewers in Brazil's southeast of Veloso, Gil, and other celebrity Tropicália musicians with their homeland of Bahia melded with other discourses of tourism and a half-century of popular music's construction of Bahia's mystical, natural charms to inspire what Góes

⁴⁸ The unusual aspect of his return was that it was not initiated or formally recognized by the regime; Veloso accepted an invitation from *bossa nova* pioneer João Gilberto to come back to perform on a São Paulo television event. Veloso arrived in Rio and was processed like any passenger, and that was the end of exile; "I stared at João in redoubled amazement. He had always been my Brazilian hero, my favorite artist in modern MPB, but his part in my return to Brazil conferred on him an almost supernatural status" (Veloso, *Tropical Truths*, 297).

⁴⁹ Hippies in Salvador were mocked in "Inspirados pelo girassol eles vivem para o amor," *A Tarde* (Salvador), 27 January 1970. Three years before that, stylized flower children were photographed for a *Manchete* magazine cover featuring the spread "Em cores: O feitiço da Bahia" (*Manchete*, ano 15 #813, 18 November 1967).

⁵⁰ Sandra Regina Barbosa da Silva Souza, "Bandeira vermelha: Aspectos da resistência armada na Bahia," in *Ditadura Militar na Bahia* ed. Grimaldo Carneiro Zachariadhes (Salvador: Edufba, 2009), 127-150.

called a “rediscovery” of Bahia “as a mythic space... The place that had inspired composers of exaltation sambas in the 1940s, and the beach songs of Dorival Caymmi, reappears for young people as a promised land, one of the last redoubts of liberty.”⁵¹

But there is more to the story. Veloso performed in carnival in Salvador in 1972 to an uproarious response. He appeared principally on the futuristic space-ship float designed by Orlando Campos’s Trio Elétrico Tapajós, and which was named in his honor the Caetanave (roughly, Caetano-ship). The preferred performance spot for *trios* had become the Praça Castro Alves, a large, open square that eased the pressure of the narrow streets with its ocean breezes and unrestrained social atmosphere.⁵² Veloso’s “Um Frevo Novo” declared that “The Praça Castro Alves is of the people / As the sky is to the airplane... Everyone is in the square / but the bores [*gente sem graça*] can have the salons.” His account of Salvador’s carnival contrasts how the people [*povo*] take to carnival’s public spaces with the modern, finely-tuned energy of an aircraft to the skies, while the stale holdouts—the elite? The generals of the regime?—withdraw to their outmoded expressions of privilege, segregating themselves away and hiding from the vitality of the moment. A few years later, in 1976, a *ViverBahia* article on the Praça Castro Alves suggested that during carnival it becomes “a free zone, a territory where repression does not exist and everything, or almost everything, is permitted.”⁵³

⁵¹ Góes, *O País*, 78.

⁵² Veloso was stunned with what he described as the “triumphant pansexuality” on display in the Praça Castro Alves in 1972: “hippies, tourists, costumes, gays, cross-dressers... These diverse elements blurred definitions, and one had a sense of tremendous freedom” (*Tropical Truth*, 301). But ironically, some of that liberality of expression may have had its origin in repressive measures elsewhere. A 1971 local news article refers to a national prohibition on dance parties with a transvestite theme, and advises that public and private balls, such as the upcoming prestigious Ball of the Actresses [*Baile das Atrizes*] would not admit anyone “using costumes of that type.” “Aviso aos navegantes: no Baile das atrizes ‘travesti’ não entra,” *Diário de Notícias*, 18 February 1971.

⁵³ “Nesta praça tudo, ou quase tudo, é possível,” *ViverBahia* #29, February 1976.

The Caetanave *trio* vehicle itself is of special interest, not only because it was thematically linked to the “airplane” of the song but because its origins are shrouded in the incoherence of later sources. Dunn incorrectly states the *trio* was Veloso’s own property, and by implication his idea.⁵⁴ Moreira writes that Campos created the Caetanave to welcome Veloso back from exile, and to thank him for writing the liner notes to several LPs from the Trio Elétrico Tapajós.⁵⁵ Moreira got the year wrong, as 1973, but the perception that the idea for the dedicated Caetanave came from Campos himself as a personal gesture is widespread. Campos himself, in a 2010 documentary video, suggested that by the week before 1972 carnival, he still hadn’t decided on a name, but after seeing an article in the local paper *A Tarde* that Gil and Veloso were coming back to Salvador, “There I got the idea, it would be in homage to Caetano Veloso.”⁵⁶

But the truth may be far more interesting than these personalized explanations crafted years after the events. It seems the general spacecraft form of the float was determined by Campos, perhaps after seeing fanciful images of a flying saucer in an in-flight magazine as he flew from Rio back to Salvador and inspired by his competition with newly-formed Trio Elétrico Marajós.⁵⁷ But he put the name (and hence the associated symbology) of the vehicle up to a public vote sponsored by the *Diário de Notícias*. Readers could send their ideas for naming the spaceship, and ostensibly the one appearing on the most submissions should be declared the winner by a panel of three, including representatives from the Department of Tourism, the Association of Carnival

⁵⁴ Dunn, *Brutality Garden*, 174-5.

⁵⁵ Moreira, *Sonhos Elétricos*, 21.

⁵⁶ *Caminhão da Alegria*.

⁵⁷ *Caminhão da Alegria*. Campos claimed that Marajós wanted to hire him, and upon his refusal, the upstart *trio* hired several of his best musicians away.

Journalists, and Tapajós.⁵⁸ The results were diverse, suggesting astronauts, doctors, ministers, or submarines, but the most votes—only three, but still enough to win—came in independently for the neologism “Caetanave” (the article stated the submitters had been investigated and did not know each other). If true, this suggests how the event of Caetano’s return from forced exile was symbolically linked in at least some people’s minds with the currents of popular participation and mass celebration in carnival. And that intangible association was soon enshrined in a commercial product, on an LP the Trio Elétrico Tapajós released later in 1972 entitled *Caetanave*. The cover is a photo of the Caetanave performing on the street. Recorded live in Rio de Janeiro in September, the record carries liner notes affirming: “The *trio elétrico* is a typical phenomenon of Bahian carnival that is today, without a shadow of doubt, the biggest and greatest carnival in Brazil due to its direct access to popular participation,” and with the innovative, forward-looking Caetanave, Tapajós “represents the GLORY of Brazilian carnival.”⁵⁹

Constructing the Popular Carnival (3) – “It’s the Masses”

In 1976, the Trio Elétrico Dodô and Osmar were enjoying momentum. Their 1975 carnival performances had been a success, based on the general enthusiasm surrounding their twenty-fifth anniversary, and their LP *Jubileu de Prata* had been embraced by radio station disc-jockeys. A measure of their growing stature appears in changes to album liner notes. While the 1975 record relied on a contribution (and implicit endorsement) from Caetano Veloso, the celebrity popular musician then most associated nationally with Bahian carnival, in 1976 the second LP⁶⁰ bore notes from another nationally prominent

⁵⁸ “Três pessoas escolheram novo nome do Tapajós em concurso DN: “Caetanave,” *Diário de Notícias*, 17 February 1972.

⁵⁹ Trio Elétrico Tapajós, *Caetanave* (Phonogram / Fontana 6488022, 1972); liner notes by Roberto Santana.

⁶⁰ Trio Elétrico Dodô e Osmar, *É a Massa* (Continental 1.01.404.121), 1976.

musician, Gilberto Gil, as well as Osmar himself, whose remarks went back to the Bahian invention of electric stringed instruments after he and Dodô witnessed the feedback problems of the touring violinist Benedito Chaves. Osmar emphasized the roots of the *trio* in *frevo*, while Gilberto Gil provided a more impressionistic essay on electricity and light, and a modern future of *trio*-defined energy that united what appears distinct (e.g. the traditional *frevos* of Recife's Nelson Ferreira and the rock potency of England's Rolling Stones).⁶¹ Osmar alone would provide the liner notes to the *trio*'s LPs over the next decade, indicating that the record companies believed his authority was enough to explain and justify each recording. But in 1976, *É a Massa* was still provisional from the point of view of the record label, so Gil's weight was levied—not only in the notes, but on his globally-referencing electric-rock-*frevo* composition “Satisfação,” based on the Rolling Stones's 1965 hit “Satisfaction.”

What is of most interest is the LP's title, and cover. “A Massa” was historically a phrase referring to large groups of people, or masses, but in precisely this era it was taking on new connotations and broader usage in Bahia. Recent dictionaries of Brazilian slang suggest that the phrase “*massa*” was consolidated in Brazil's northeast, specifically Bahia, just prior to 1980, and was used to convey not only its traditional definition of large assemblages of people but also what was current, hip, happening, and in fashion.⁶² Armandinho told me that as far as he remembered, the word was circulating in mid-1970s Salvador principally to praise an especially potent stock of marijuana.⁶³ But it spread, and is still in use in Salvador today as an informal expression of approval. The conceptual

⁶¹ Trio Elétrico Dodô and Osmar, *É a Massa*.

⁶² *Dicionário de Gíria: Modismo Linguístico, o Equipamento Falado do Brasil*, 8th edition (Brasília: JB Serra, 2009); *Michaelis Dicionário Escolar da Língua Portuguesa* (São Paulo: Melhoramentos, 2008). Besides “cool,” U.S. English slang counterparts to *massa* might be “hot,” “excellent,” “groovy,” et cetera.

⁶³ Armando Macedo, personal communication, 04 January 2011, Salvador, Bahia.

association of masses of people with what was trendy, exciting and desirable suggests that local popular culture (the urban folklore of slang) was responding to the still-developing but widely amplified conceptions of Salvador's carnival as an event uniquely defined by the powerful experience of masses, multitudes, and human waves associated with the *trio elétrico*. The collective was cool; popular participation was "in."

The cover of the LP, designed by Rogério Duarte, emphasized the double meaning. It carries the title "*é a massa*" in empty letters which form spaces or windows cut into a blue bar; the windows penetrate the opacity and look into a crowded street scene, suggesting that what the people are doing needed to be revealed as happening. The whole blue bar or frame is only about two inches long, and seems to hang like a raised theater curtain over the main image of the cover: a shot taken from above of the *trio*'s 1974 carnival performance. The *trio* vehicle is bathed in its own electric light and is completely surrounded by people, including a raised bleacher decorated in the city's theme that year, Jorge Amado's *O País do Carnaval Elétrico* (1931). Armandinho, just visible inside the Ford *fobica* mounted atop the *trio*, also appears at center in a second image, playing his *guitarra baiana* behind a loudspeaker which is pointed at the viewer.



Figure 6: LP cover, Trio Elétrico Dodô & Osmar, *É a Massa* (1976). Source: author's collection.

The artificiality of Armandinho's dual images (and the superimposed title bar) reveal the cover artwork as a designed construction, but that just serves to strengthen the documentary impact of the main photograph of the "masses" of people in the street scene. The spectacular visual quality of a *trio elétrico* had been put on record covers before, notably Tapajós's 1972 *Caetanave* LP and a follow-up, *Caetanave 2* in 1974.⁶⁴ But those images had emphasized a view of the vehicle itself, drawing attention to it (perhaps

⁶⁴ Trio Elétrico Tapajós, *Caetanave 2* (Fontana Special, 6470512), 1974.

sensibly, since the records were named for the vehicle, and the image on the later record was drawn, not photographed); the vehicle dominated the 1972 image and far fewer people fit into the edges of the frame around it. *É a Massa* managed to convey the scale of not merely a *trio* vehicle but the popular festive phenomenon the *trio elétrico* had unleashed. The photographer had strategically made his shot as the *trio* passed a panel constructed by the city decorated with the year's theme, with different carnivalesque images and the legend "O País do Carnaval. Jorge Amado." The picture's layout linked the *trio* with the decorations, making the group an exuberant embodiment of the "country of carnival." But beyond that, it aligned the group, and specifically Armandinho, with the celebrity stature of Amado, a nationally renowned Bahian artist and interpreter of Bahian identity. And more broadly, the basic tension in the novel *O País do Carnaval* deals with a Brazilian man concerned that carnival fosters alienation, even as it stirs nationalist sentiment among the people; taken as a whole, the record cover artwork reworked that idea by suggesting that the popular participation characterizing Salvador's carnival was something exciting and hip because of the (unstated, undepicted) squareness of the wider political context—the sources of obfuscation and alienation in Brazilian society were implicitly recognized as stemming not from carnival or popular culture but from the military regime and the constraints on democracy it had imposed, hence the vibrancy of collective action wherever it could be found or created. And Armandinho's prominence, looking upward with seriousness as he plays his guitar (with the references to Amado in the background), suggested that a new generation was rising up to define Bahian identity and offer grassroots cultural solutions to help lead the country of the future out of its current morass. With the shiny appeal of a consumer product, the record combined

music–industry marketing strategies and nods to the youth movement with a documentation of the family tradition and modernity of the Trio Elétrico Dodô and Osmar—and a hint of the immediacy and wider national symbolic significance of the carnival of popular participation that was growing up around the *trio* founders’ creation.

Salvador’s Carnival Becomes Brazil’s, Through “Democratic” Consumer Choice

After a long period of gradual, planned liberalization of Brazil’s political system (the *abertura* or “opening,” roughly 1978-1985, including the revocation of Institutional Act 5 in 1978), the military regime ceased to exist on 15 March 1985 when a civilian government took power. The nation was shocked when newly elected president Tancredo Neves took ill before inauguration and soon died; he was replaced by his vice president, José Sarney, a grim event detracting from the enthusiasm and optimism of the period. Later, scholars (focused predominately on Rio de Janeiro) began to assess the influence of redemocratization on Brazilian popular culture. Charles Perrone notes that Brazil’s national media dubbed 1985 carnival the “carnival of democracy” and

foresaw widespread events around the country... Yet extensive elaboration of theme of democracy did not materialize. Samba schools around the nation stuck to typical historical and cultural themes, and at ball room parties fashionable themes like “Rock in Rio” were prevalent. This was the case even at a Rio ball called “Democracy’s Party,” attended by one of Neves’s campaign secretaries who did not wish to link carnival with the New Republic. The sparse presence of the political theme in carnival says much more about the continuity of this entrenched cultural practice [carnival] than it does about the populace’s reaction to having a civilian leader.⁶⁵

For Perrone, the reluctance of Neves’s representative to encourage a link between carnival and the new government suggests that current political events were not recognized as important enough to penetrate cultural traditions of festivity, even among

⁶⁵ Charles A. Perrone, “Open Mike: Brazilian Popular Music and Redemocratization,” *Studies in Latin American Popular Culture* 7 (1988), 179.

officials and government insiders. Yet as this dissertation has examined in the case of Salvador's carnival during the first half of the dictatorship, diverse discourses and actions suggest that people throughout Bahian society were sensitive to how an overbearing government presence—taking control of the festival from the “people,” or taking credit for it away from the “people”—was distasteful, and how it might be overly reminiscent of the undemocratic military regime itself and its appointed leaders in Bahia.

Even as I have argued that the development of a consensus around Salvador's carnival embodying popular participation in the early 1970s owes much to the wider political context, it would still be unreasonable to expect an explosion of explicit political rhetoric in Salvador's carnival culture production after 1985—in part because it cannot be the case that a defined agenda of political democracy was the deliberate, conscious subtext of all the actors who contributed to the consolidation of carnival's popular participation; rather, the wider context of a reality of political constraint influenced the terms and tone in how diverse observers and participants characterized what was making Salvador's carnival unique and special at that time. The concept of carnival's special moment of freedom and liberty may have made the political climate stand out in contrast for some artists on some occasions, whose music resonated in response. In 1983, the Trio Elétrico Dodô and Osmar included a song by Moraes Moreira and Fausto Nilo, “Bloco de Prazer (*Bloco* of Pleasure)” which seems to allude to redemocratization itself: “I want to liberate my heart / I want much more / Than the sound of a slow march / I want a new balance / And the *bloco* of pleasure / And that the multitudes speak.”⁶⁶ And in ensuing years, a political undertone can be traced in the lyrical cry for freedom from repression and from imposed limits, without explicit reference to particular political events, parties,

⁶⁶ Trio Elétrico Dodô, Osmar & Armandinho, *Eletrizando o Brasil* (MusiColor LP 1-04-405-450), 1983.

or movements in Brazil (notoriously numerous and complex, and often contradictory) but in terms of human rights: whether cadged in terms of race,⁶⁷ or in existential concerns.⁶⁸

Popular participation was taken as lacking in Brazil's other main carnivals, just as it was in the political sphere. But by the 1980s, and certainly the 1990s, Salvador's carnival was appealing to more and more Brazilians because it operated at the interface of widely shared if often unspoken desires among the nation's people to be both citizens and consumers—contradictory desires to be both equal in the collective while unconstrained by outside political or ideological authority, and at the same time individually distinct through the stratified markers of consumption.

In 1993, Salvador's carnival was declared by a popular national magazine, *Veja*, to have finally transcended the traditional claim to national identity held by the carnival of Rio de Janeiro, and vanquished that festival to be considered the most significant of all Brazil's carnivals.⁶⁹ Of course, this declaration of victory was rejected by critics in Rio de Janeiro, warning of crime and violence in Salvador's carnival as well as systemic racism in its principal attractions, the *trios* and the *blocos afro*.⁷⁰ But it represents the mainstream view at the time of how the success, importance, and symbolic national fit of

⁶⁷ An identity beyond the targeted race-based assumptions of political ideology was in the song "Jardim do Ébano (Garden of Ebony)" by Djalma Luz for the Banda Reflexus: "Apartheid is the people in the favela / Who live always dreaming / With samba in the *passarela* / But all there really is / Is hunger and misery... / A people branded like cattle / An apartheid people rising up / Don't want to be only that / Or only the black electorate." Banda Reflexus, *Serpente Negra* (EMI 062 791648, 1988).

⁶⁸ Banda Beijo's "Sem Repressão (Without Repression)" evoked the ideal intersection between the liberty offered by carnival and personal liberty year-round: "And when I want to sing I will / Without repression / Every human being lives to exist / Searching within to redefine himself / I know I'm not / What you really want me to be... / But everyone fits here, who was born here / Brazil, man, woman / And the masses... / Without repression." On the LP Banda Beijo, *Sem Repressão* (Stalo 841 522-1, 1989).

⁶⁹ "A Bahia Ganhou."

⁷⁰ Rio's mayor, César Maia, stated that "A tourist who goes to Salvador's carnival stands a 100% chance to get mugged, and runs a large risk of getting raped" ("Os tambores ardem na nação baiana," *Veja* #1276, 24 February 1993), 35. *O Globo*, the national newspaper based in Rio, carried an article indicting the racism and inequality in Salvador's carnival, "Carnival da Bahia entra no ritmo de axé music e do racismo" (15 February 1993).

a popular festival was to be assessed. The rise of a different carnival to represent Brazil for Brazilians and outsiders after a half-century of Rio's dominance reflected a reevaluation of traditional national symbols (including the hyper-patriotic *sambas de enredo*) after the fall of the dictatorship and the return to democracy. It also highlighted the value of novelty fostered by the culture industry, as well as tourism. Unlike the subjective qualities of national or regional identity, these industries yielded measurable results. Under the subheading "Creativity in Excess," *Veja*'s article savored the bottom line: "Cristovão Rodrigues, who works in local radio, estimates that Bahian music alone generates over 2,000 jobs, from technicians to stagehands... in 1992, Bahian carnival acts sold around five million records."⁷¹

Appeal to those outside Bahia was critical: "Around 500,000 tourists arrive in Salvador between December and March, when they should spend around US\$125 million, an increase in arrivals of 15% since 1991... This year, in the five weeks before carnival there will arrive no fewer than 966 international flights carrying visitors seeking a colorful explosion of Bahian culture."⁷² This was not only a new source of revenue, it was endorsement from the wider world that Salvador's carnival was significant. Its carnival was rising in the "pleasure business," a global enterprise.⁷³ Economic might combined with the tourist appeal of cultural innovation (and the intangibles of effective hype and attaining "hip" status) were making Salvador's carnival a "popular" success beyond its borders. In 1994, it was named the largest popular festival in Brazil—a local achievement that relied on the presence of 630,000 tourists, around 10% of them

⁷¹ "A Bahia Ganhou," 38.

⁷² "A Bahia Ganhou," 36.

⁷³ Luiz Afonso Costa, "Um Salto Planejado," *Bahia Análise & Dados*, vol. 5 no. 4 (March 1996), 6.

foreigners.⁷⁴ A few years after the *Veja* piece, *Neon*, a culture-industry trade magazine and carnival celebrity gossip vehicle, offered a statement of how carnival's cultural economy (painted in lavish exoticness) was uncontainable:

Bahia is creating a genuine industry out of leisure and culture... and carnival is a great example. The largest Brazilian festival, an explosion of creative vitality that mixes the India of Gandhi, the Jamaica of Bob Marley and the Africa of all us, has become an inexhaustible source of businesses that translates into a market linking a million and a half people including half a million tourists... Carnival, that used to last three days, now runs throughout the entire year with a miscellany of festivals before and after the event, *micaretas*, shows and rehearsals, that transcend the short month of February. The *blocos de trio* have created a commercial network that commands lots and lots of money. Of course, the market is a cruel god and the tireless mercantilist character of the festival may gentrify the public avenues and apportion happiness [*alegria*] mostly to the middle class, but there is no way to deny the economic significance of this process.⁷⁵

This analysis acknowledged that the effects of commerce were leading to distortions or imbalances in what was constructed ideally as a carnival of popular participation in which all were equal “citizens” of the carnival space—but also that capitalization was an inevitable part of both exploiting carnival's economic potential in Bahia, and of reaching national importance to being incorporated (consumed) into national lifeways. The vision of letting the market determine patterns, successes, and failures reflected rising consumerism in Brazil, the decline of the folklore movement's influence on civic thought, and an aversion to obvious government control of carnival as a festival of the people. There was also a racial component, as Salvador's cultural economy generated unprecedented financial opportunities for individual Afro-Bahian musicians, dancers, *capoeiristas*, et cetera—even if market trends in private sponsorship

⁷⁴ Elizabete Liola & Paulo Miguez, “Lúdicos mistérios da economia do carnaval baiano: Trama de redes e inovações,” *Bahia Análise & Dados* vol. 5 #4 March 1996, 51.

⁷⁵ “A economia do Axé,” *Neon* ano 1 #1, January 1999.

avoided the *blocos afro* and *afoxés* as collective groups—adding to the perception that the market gave everyone equal opportunities to rise economically.

Professionalizing the Carnival of the People

Salvador's contemporary carnival did not suddenly become commercialized; its commercial dimensions had been clear since the 1940s. But the expansion of the festival's commercialism derives principally from markets and consumer groups forming around the *trio elétrico* as a "product" of attractions, meanings, and experiences, and leveraging a degree of financial power that the government was not able or interested in competing with, or intervening in. Carnival shows outside Salvador, the *micaretas*, pre-existed the rise of private *blocos de trio*, but the practices expanded after the mid-1970s and provided the two most lucrative avenues for *trio* musicians, *bloco* entrepreneurs, and a range of middlemen and support industries. Although the privatization of *trios* presented a more stark visual and symbolic intrusion into the carnival of popular participation, it should be understood within the broader carnival economy.

The use of ropes or cords to encircle a group of revelers and separate them from others on the street was common practice in Salvador's carnival throughout the twentieth century. Such groups, called *cordões* to refer to the rope—which might be the only element distinguishing them from the similarly costumed, dancing *blocos*—predated the *trio elétrico* and apparently grew in number alongside the *trio* phenomenon in the 1960s. In 1970, the largest single carnival group on the streets of Salvador was determined to be the *cordão Vai Levando*, which contained an estimated 3,000 people.⁷⁶ Like the *blocos*, they had traditionally formed around neighborhood groups, extended families, groups of friends, students, or co-workers. A 1968 news article praising the influence of the *trios*

⁷⁶ " 'Vai Levando' voltou a ser o maior bloco carnavalesco," *Estado da Bahia*, 11 February 1970.

on the expansion of carnival participation noted that “new *cordões* form around them every year,”⁷⁷ suggesting that the *trio* itself was within the cord as well. But the origins of the major next step in carnival’s commercialization, a *cordão* (or *bloco*) organizing before carnival to hire a specific *trio elétrico* and only allow access within the cord to fee-paying members, remains unclear⁷⁸

The term *bloco de trio* refers to two entities: the *bloco*, which administers the group’s thematic and logistical participation in carnival and also the selection of consumer-members; and the *trio* band, which serves as the attraction. These partnering entities can have divergent strategies; in the end, a *trio* band is selling one set of products (CDs and performances outside carnival proper), and a *bloco* is selling another (a branded experience within the carnival event itself). Bands were subject to income taxes and royalty fees, both inconsistently levied, while the *blocos* were traditionally conceived as non-profit, informal carnival associations. By the mid-1990s, concern about the *blocos’* abuse of the non-profit status eventually attracted federal tax authorities (the Receita Federal), and more than 20 *blocos de trio* had to pay penalties.⁷⁹ Just a couple of years later, probably as a result of their lobbying power, the major *blocos* were receiving most of the funding of Fazcultura (the State Incentives Program for Culture), a program under Bahia’s Secretary of Culture and Tourism intended to support artistic and cultural practices that were not sustainable on the free market such as opera and circuses, but also

⁷⁷ “Povo brincou nos clubes e nas ruas.”

⁷⁸ It is also curious that the term *bloco* was used in that context for a cord-carrying group—perhaps, and this remains conjecture, because the *cordões* more often featured their own music ensembles whereas the *blocos* did not—but that too is not consistent in the historical record, suggesting the terms were in flux. *Bloco* was the more general term that was often applied to any carnivalesque entity. In 1970 it was recorded that the *bloco Os Internacionais* contained a “lively *batucada* percussion section.” “‘Vai Levando’ voltou a ser o maior bloco carnavalesco.”

⁷⁹ To avoid further scrutiny, some of the *blocos de trio* then switched their status to that of a business, but relocated their headquarters to Salvador’s suburban neighbor Lauro de Freitas where the tax rates were lower (Miguez de Oliveira, “Carnaval Baiano,” 124-5).

smaller and “alternative” carnival entities such as *blocos de indo* and *blocos afro*; public outcry led in 2000 to a resolution specifically excluding the *blocos de trio* from these funds.⁸⁰ They are now ostensibly charged income taxes and a carnival participation tax, figured according to the size of the *bloco* and the number of days it parades, that given the economy of scale involved seems small.⁸¹ The city does charge a “publicity tax” to take a small slice of each *bloco*’s private sponsorship income.⁸²

There were also structural and strategic overlaps between *trio* musicians and *blocos*. Since around 1990, there has been no more potent stage in Bahia for launching bands to national and international markets than Salvador’s carnival. And as bands grow powerful in their own right, they often take ownership of *blocos* (by the mid-1990s, Chiclete com Banana with Camaleão, or Netinho with Pike and Jheremias). There is also atomization—or in another view, the expansion of individual opportunity for artistic and financial success—as singers associated with a particular *bloco* and *trio* band can use their growing popularity to split off and launch a solo career. Notable examples here are Daniela Mercury (vocalist for Banda Cheiro de Amor of the *bloco* Cheiro de Amor, 1986-88) and Ivete Sangalo (with Banda Eva of *bloco* Eva from 1993-1999, but today

⁸⁰ Sergio Sobreira Araujo, “Cultura, Política e Mercado na Bahia: A Criação da Secretaria da Cultura e Turismo” (Masters thesis, Universidade Federal da Bahia, 2007), pp. 93-5. Complaining that official funding for *blocos afros* is insufficient, and corporate sponsorships scarce due to racism, the founder of Ilê Aiyê observed in 1996 that blacks were producing raw material for the “cultural effervescence” of Bahia but didn’t know how to “commercialize their art... [B]lack have to learn to be administrators and enter the marketplace.” Interview with Vovô, “A Experiência do Ilê na Coordenação do Carnaval.”

⁸¹ According to a standard fiscalization form at SalTur, per member per day in 2010, a small (up to 500 members) *bloco* was charged R\$0.60; medium (501-1,000 members) R\$1.15; and large (from 1,000 up), R\$1.45. A top *bloco* with 3,000 members parading the standard 3 days would owe R\$13,050.00, which, if the *bloco* charged R\$500 a member, was paid off by around 26 of its members’ fees.

⁸² Using the size definitions above, a small *bloco* would have to pay twice one member entry fee, per day of parading; medium *bloco*, four times its entry fee per day; a large *bloco*, five times its membership fee per day. The scheme favors the largest *blocos* by not raising the ceiling proportionally. A *bloco* that sold advertising on a helium-filled float attached to the *trio* would have to pay R\$352.24 per balloon per day.

perhaps Brazil's best-selling female vocalist).⁸³ It was a telling symbolic representation of the balance of power in 1990s Salvador when an academic volume on carnival's business opportunities (published by the Brazilian Support Services for Micro and Small Business, SEBRAE) carried a foreword by megastar Daniela Mercury, who wrote in purple tones on how Bahia's innovative spirit and unique racial-cultural synthesis led to "festivals and ideas, perceptions and opportunities, all generated in response to wider cultural demands... [resulting in] a mixture of cultural wealth and material wealth."⁸⁴ This statement naturalized the success of Salvador's carnival as an expression of national significance (meeting wider demands) squarely in the logic of consumption. Mercury also has her own recording studio and production company, presently relying on multinational labels merely for distribution. Meanwhile, according to a recent Brazilian news blog, Ivete Sangalo sold over 600,000 DVD copies of a live show at Rio's Maracanã stadium (on Universal Portugal, 2007), commands around R\$350,000 *reais* for a single performance (second in Brazil only to balladeering statesman Roberto Carlos), and invests her fortune in real estate, ranching, construction, aviation, fashion lines, and artist production and development.⁸⁵ She was the first Brazilian musician to headline New York's Madison Square Garden, and her show in September 2010 was a sell-out.⁸⁶

Succeeding as a vocalist in a *trio* band for a *bloco* was the launching pad for these achievements—or as Santanna better puts it, the *bloco de trio* served as a "trampoline"

⁸³ An analysis of the careers, media personalities, and fan receptions of Mercury, Sangalo, and Margareth Menezes appears in a recent book exploring the success of female vocalists in Salvador's carnival culture industry: Marilda Santanna, *As Donas do Canto: O Sucesso das Estrelas-Intérpretes no Carnaval de Salvador* (Salvador: EDUFBA, 2009).

⁸⁴ Daniela Mercury, "Apresentação," in *O Carnaval Baiano: Negócios e Oportunidades*, ed. Tânia Fischer (Brasília: Edições Sebrae, 1996).

⁸⁵ Adriana Patrocínio, "Axé Music cria milionários e holdings na Bahia," <http://www.skyscrapercity.com/showthread.php?t=595567> (accessed 05 January 2012).

⁸⁶ "Arena full of fans caught Brazilian fever and had to sing along," *New York Times*, 05 September 2010.

for these stars, since they leave the *bloco* format but always return in one form or another for the salary and to reinforce their celebrity prestige.⁸⁷ *Blocos* such as Eva that create their own bands as attractions, rather than hiring a complete one, carefully select vocalists with the training, stamina and personality to perform up to six hours non-stop. Perhaps females are preferred since their voices cut better through carnival's bass-heavy music,⁸⁸ but sex appeal is obviously a factor in the rise of women singers through the carnival industry. The potential rapidity and degree of wealth creation through the *bloco de trio* industry in Salvador is staggering. Hard numbers are difficult to obtain from the secretive *blocos*, each led by an edifice of accountants, managers, and marketing consultants (and aided by eager young interns who recruit customers from among their acquaintances in the target demographics, in return for participation in the *bloco*). For Eva, Guerra de Andrade reported gross revenue estimates of anywhere from five to twelve million *reais* in 1998-1999.⁸⁹ Salvador's carnival alone brought the top *blocos* who paraded in the new beachfront route of Barra around a million *reais* apiece in 1998.⁹⁰

Farias claims that the first contract between a *bloco* and a *trio elétrico* band was in 1986, when the *bloco* Os Internacionais (founded 1962) hired the rock-reggae-*forró* band Chiclete com Banana to be their exclusive attraction,⁹¹ but this seems implausibly recent. More sources posit an earlier date. Siqueira Dias concludes from oral histories in Salvador that the first private *bloco de trio* was either Bloco Saco Cheio or Bloco Ou Dá

⁸⁷ It should be noted in the given cases, both Mercury and Sangalo came from comfortable middle-class backgrounds with good educations, support groups, and agents behind them. Santanna, *As Donas do Canto*, 52-61. Miguez de Oliveira ("Carnaval Baiano," 171) found sources suggesting that when Mercury left the *bloco* Os Internacionais for Crocodilo around 1994, she had negotiated a raise of R\$500,000 *reais*.

⁸⁸ Santanna, *As Donas do Canto*, 57.

⁸⁹ Carlos Magno Diniz Guerra de Andrade, "O sistema franchising e o carnaval da Bahia: O caso das franquias Eva," Masters thesis, Federal University of Bahia, 1999, p. 106.

⁹⁰ "Blocos faturam até R\$1 milhão," *Correio da Bahia*, 30 January 1998.

⁹¹ Farias, *Ocio e Negocio*, 246.

Ou Desca, between 1973 and 1975.⁹² Miguez de Oliveira concurs on that periodization but highlights Traz-os-Montes as among the first *blocos de trio*.⁹³ Pinto believes it was Camaleão in 1978.⁹⁴ In their conversations with me, both Aroldo Macedo and Armandinho refer to the practice happening by the mid-1970s, but the lack of continuous or accessible archives at the state or local level, or from carnival administrative agencies or the various private *trio* bands or *blocos* themselves makes this a difficult question to answer with certainty.

Ironically, however, it is clear that the rise in local private demand for *trios* might have been welcome news for city hall because it would keep the *trios* in Salvador for carnival. In 1973, Tapajós, the three-time champion of the *trio* competition, did not appear in Salvador's carnival because they considered the city's subsidy inadequate; they accepted more lucrative carnival performance options farther south, in Curitiba, São Paulo, and Florianópolis.⁹⁵ And in 1969, only Tapajós had paraded in Salvador when all the other *trios elétricos* had been hired away for carnivals elsewhere.⁹⁶ A 1976 assessment of Salvador's carnival with respect to state tourism potential warned that the two greatest impediments were lack of adequate hotel capacity, and the competition posed by major cities outside Salvador that were hiring away "the best *trios*" to perform during their carnivals. The author implied that more official support for the *trios*' bottom lines was necessary in order to keep the groups at home in Salvador for the biggest festival of the

⁹² Clímaco César Siqueira Dias, "Carnaval de Salvador," 91-2.

⁹³ It was "founded by young people in Barra and Graça, upper-middle class regions of the city." Miguez de Oliveira, "Carnaval Baiano," 116.

⁹⁴ Roque Pinto, "Como a Cidade de Salvador Empreende a Produção de Exótico," 89.

⁹⁵ Their appearance in São Paulo featured a television performance on the Silvio Santos television variety show. "Ajuda foi fraca e trio Tapajós toca no Paraná," *Diário de Notícias*, 23 February 1973.

⁹⁶ "Muita gente e poucas fantasias caracterizam o carnaval de rua," *Estado da Bahia*, 19 February 1969.

year.⁹⁷ Earlier that year, Bahiatursa and the city's Department of Folklore and Popular Festivals had contributed 100,000 *cruzeiros* each to the Trio Elétrico Dodô and Osmar, the first of a contracted four-year subsidy to the founding *trio* "to ensure their presence in Salvador's carnival" through 1979.⁹⁸ But Dodô and Osmar were coming off their anniversary celebration, and no other *trio* got that sort of promise. The city and state were not interested in providing such substantial subsidies to so many *trios* to keep them in Salvador, but broader society's consumers, and a host of private sponsors, might be.

Trios elétrico had been hired away to locales outside Salvador for carnival, or *micaretas* (carnival-season parades beyond the official festival calendar), since 1952. The first recognized *micareta*, that of Feira de Santana (110 kilometers from Salvador), has long ties to Salvador's carnival: after a road was opened between the two cities in 1932, Feira's carnival went into rapid decline as revelers preferred to visit Salvador, the state capital and larger city. Their *micareta* dates officially to 1937, and was essentially the recreation of their own carnival in a different period.⁹⁹ The surging demand for *trios* was creating challenges for the city of Salvador if the individual schedules of the dominant *trios* overlapped with carnival proper. A 1978 *ViverBahia* article on the *micaretas* implies this conflict had been resolved (and the cultural economy rationalized) by ensuring that *micaretas* followed the four-day, Saturday to Wednesday morning structure of carnival itself in other weeks; it also suggested local governments, private sponsors, and the *trios* were working together to create not simultaneous dispersed small festivals but one enormous re-creation of the "carnival of participation of the capital" that in 1977

⁹⁷ Ubaldino Marques Porto Filho, *Turismo: Realidade Baiana e Nacional* (Salvador: Bigraf, 1976), 68.

⁹⁸ "Escolas: Dinheiro magro."

⁹⁹ Hêlder Alencar, *31 Anos de Micareta* (-, 1968).

travelled, circus-like, between over 26 Bahian cities along six months.¹⁰⁰ In the early 1980s, an agreement was struck between the local governments of Salvador and Feira de Santana, site of the largest *micareta*: after carnival, the decorations used in the capital would be trucked over to Feira for use in the *micareta*.¹⁰¹ This added to the sense that Bahian carnival was never really stopping, just moving and expanding. By the 1990s, the *micaretas* had grown in scale and expanded across the region to cities in neighboring states, such as Paraíba, Rio Grande do Norte, Pernambuco, and Ceará; this network of festivals became the subject of a 1994 song by Banda Mel, “Carnafolia”: “My Brazil is a party / It’s all carnival / After Salvador / I’ll see you in the Fortal [Fortaleza] / And the Recifolia [Recife]... / I have Carnatal [Natal] / Everyone loving each other / With Bahian rhythms / There won’t be an empty plaza / Where we go to play.”¹⁰²

Bahia’s Secretary of Culture and Tourism praised the *micaretas* in 1996, arguing that they were profitable for the state and did not diminish the cultural or economic “value” of Salvador’s carnival proper.¹⁰³ For the city’s professionalizing carnival performers, this allowed them to “live off of carnival the whole year,” as *Veja* noted in 1996, which could also lead to a shift in who “the people” participating in Salvador’s carnival-world were understood to be. Durval Lélys, vocalist of the *trio* band Asa de Águia (associated then with the *bloco* Os Internacionais), suggested that performing in

¹⁰⁰ “Micareta: Carnaval até o São João,” *ViverBahia* #43, 1978. This article also asserts with no additional details that the *micareta* used to be called other names, including the French word *micareme* or “*páscoa carnavalesca* (carnavalesque Easter),” but that a public vote sponsored by “the Bahian press” had affirmed *micareta*. In later years they often became referred to as *carnavais fora da época* (off-season carnivals). *Micaretas* in the 1990s and early 2000s are the subject of Benoit Gaudin, “The *Micareta* and Cultural Identity,” *Latin American Perspectives* 135 (March 2004): 80-93.

¹⁰¹ “Feira abre o ciclo de micaretas do interior,” *A Tarde* (Salvador), 07 March 1983.

¹⁰² Davi Salles, “Carnafolia,” on Banda Mel, *O Pulo da Gata* (Warner 997783-1, 1994).

¹⁰³ “They have two qualities. On the one hand, they are excellent promotional vehicles for Bahia. On the other, they present economic gains to the state in terms of production, sales, et cetera.” Interview, “Turismo e Carnaval,” *Bahia Análise & Dados* vol. 5 no. 4 March 1996.

carnival for local people was a career investment because it led to other opportunities: “Doing Salvador’s carnival isn’t lucrative on its own, but it’s a showcase, a shop window. You establish your image and then all the *micaretas* come calling.”¹⁰⁴ It also generated another rational response to the business advantages offered by multiple performance opportunities. If Tapajós had four separate *trio* vehicles by 1979 (one dedicated to Salvador’s carnival but the others available for rent for *micaretas* and a range of private and political events across the country),¹⁰⁵ the *bloco* Eva, founded in 1981, went a step further. In 1998 the *bloco* reorganized as Grupo Eva, an umbrella company modeled around franchises like any fast-food restaurant, which by 1999 had eight separate “*bloco Evas*” operating simultaneously in Brazil, from Pará in the north to São Paulo in the southeast.¹⁰⁶ Within Salvador’s carnival itself, from the point of view of professional *trio* bands and their administrative apparatus, tourists had an increasingly desirable profile as both consumers of carnival, whose *bloco* membership fees helped pay for their performance, and grassroots publicity agents. The producer of Carlinhos Brown’s percussion-driven Timbalada band said in 1996, “it’s the tourists who will spend the money to buy a CD, and then they’ll take that CD back home to help generate buzz, and then maybe they’ll take some friends to our show in their city.”¹⁰⁷

For the organizers of Salvador’s *blocos de trio*, it was the spending power of their members that mattered, whether they were tourists or locals; the relatively elite character and composition of the *blocos de trio* offered well-heeled revelers the promise of a sense of exclusivity on the street and its corollary, enhanced personal safety. The fees to join

¹⁰⁴ “Farra millionária: Músicos baianos lucram com carnavais fora da época e emplacam os grandes sucessos do verão,” *Veja*, 17 January 1996, 106-7.

¹⁰⁵ “Trio elétrico: Um rio de gente,” *Correio da Bahia*, 22 February 1979.

¹⁰⁶ Guerra de Andrade, “O sistema franchising e o carnaval da Bahia,” 104.

¹⁰⁷ “Farra Millionária.”

the top *blocos* were and are significant. In 1996, ten of the most popular *blocos* were charging an average of 348 *reais* to join and purchase the “*abadá*” (signature lightweight uniform of each *bloco*, pioneered by Eva in 1993), which was almost two months’ salary at the minimum wage rate at the time.¹⁰⁸ At the time all but the wealthiest Brazilians were still contending with the stringent effects of the *real* plan, implemented by president Fernando Henrique Cardoso to stabilize inflation in mid-1994. This explains why *blocos de trio* came to be described informally by outsiders as *blocos do barão* (“*blocos* of the baron”). At 2006 carnival, Coruja, the *bloco* featuring Ivete Sangalo, had been sold out since March 2005 at an official entry fee of 1,100 *reais* per person.¹⁰⁹

But while every *bloco* wanted large numbers of revelers (in 1996, Camaleão and Os Internacionais commanded around 3,000 apiece), they enhanced their appeal through rigid and often mysterious procedures including the submission of a formal application—including a photograph of the applicant, and his or her address—to selection committees. The photo would be useful in assessing physical appearance, and the address helped convey the applicant’s economic status. Apparent racial prejudice in this process, keeping darker-skinned applicants out, became controversial in Salvador along the 1990s, ultimately entailing lawsuits (and drawing the attention of the *New York Times*’s Brazil correspondent, Larry Rohter, in 1999¹¹⁰). For *blocos*, advertising themselves as containing only *gente fina* (polished, refined people) or *gente bonita* (pretty, handsome people) had deep local significance as coded phrases for “white, educated, attractive, upper middle class only” in a majority Afro-Brazilian city long accustomed to oblique

¹⁰⁸ Miguez de Oliveira, “Carnaval Baiano,” 118-9.

¹⁰⁹ “Na pipoca, no meio da avenida: Jovens encaram a complicada e deliciosa saga de ficar fora dos blocos e camarotes durante os seis dias de carnaval,” *A Tarde* (Salvador) 12 February 2006.

¹¹⁰ “Brazil Carnival’s Fabled Amity May Hide Bigotry,” *New York Times*, 12 December 1999.

racist terminologies such as “*boa aparência*” (good appearance) in employment want-ads. The newspapers further normalized the connections between appearance, spending power, tourism, and prestige in their gushing coverage of the *blocos*’ carnival success, or in full-page publicity ads placed by the *blocos* that resembled actual carnival reporting. For example, a 1998 privately submitted description of the *bloco* Crocodilo, who enjoyed the musical attraction of megastar Daniela Mercury, affirmed “Crocodilo proved it is the tourists’ favorite. It had people from all over the country, especially Rio, São Paulo, and Minas Gerais, and nationally known artists. The *bloco* president, Renato Linhares, says he strives to give tourists the best possible impression of Bahia.” Noting the *bloco*’s theme of World Diversity, the spot included a picture of young, white, mostly female revelers described as “Beautiful people [*gente bonita*] from around Brazil.”¹¹¹

Ducking references to race, the *bloco* Cheiro de Amor was otherwise explicit in its preference for “high school and college students between 15 and 25 years old.”¹¹² It seems the festival was getting younger in demographics: in 1984, 18 was still considered the minimum age for participating freely in public carnival events, with anyone younger needing to be licensed with a state Minor Protection board.¹¹³ Later, a 2009 analysis by a state economic agency (Bahian Superintendancy of Economic and Social Studies, SEI) of Salvador residents’ participation in carnival had as its youngest autonomous age cohort 14-24 years, shifting even younger—which, whatever the larger social and legal

¹¹¹ “Crocodilo: O bloco preferido dos turistas,” *Correio da Bahia*, 25 February 1998.

¹¹² “Cheiro de Fantasia,” *Neon*, #1, January 1999. In 1973, Os Internacionais announced that they were looking to elect a “green-eyed *morena* (brunette)” as their queen, the International Girl. “Internacionais procuram morena de olhos verdes,” *Diário de Notícias*, 23 February 1973.

¹¹³ “Juizado de Menores da Comarca de Salvador, Portaria n. 2/84,” Waldeloir Rêgo archive, Bahia State Public Library.

definitions of adulthood in Brazil,¹¹⁴ reflects youthful Brazilian demographics, but also similar trends in the twentieth century U.S. in how marketers hoped to shape consumers out of younger and younger people.¹¹⁵ The SEI study noted, perhaps unsurprisingly (given demographics and the slanting of carnival attractions toward youth markets, including the rigorous nature of the street experience itself), “research reaffirms the perception that Bahian carnival is characterized by a hegemony of young people:” 76.3% of local carnival revelers in 2009 were between 14 and 39 years old.

For its part, the *blocos* would have to pay the *trio* band and other supporting costs for the parade: the hundreds of rope carriers, security guards, technical crew, and more recently first-aid vehicles and refreshment vehicles also traveling within the rope with their own chefs, et cetera. But in addition to the revenue from members, the *blocos* received private sponsorship from corporations, who could then advertise directly to a “captive” young population of means, on everything from the the *trio* vehicle to the uniforms worn by members. In the mid-1990s, the amount of corporate money pouring into the most desirable *blocos* might have represented a sum ten times what the *bloco* gained from its member-revelers.¹¹⁶ Eva, innovating on their own *abadá* costume, began in 2001 to have different costumes, designed by different clothing brands, for each day of the *bloco*’s promenade.¹¹⁷ The dominant advertisers in *blocos* through the 1990s included global electronics companies, chain restaurants, telecommunications, fashion trademarks,

¹¹⁴ The age of adulthood in Brazil is largely taken to be 18, but it is curious that recent pamphlets created by the state warning tourists (in six languages) that “sexual violence against children and adolescents” is a serious crime in Bahia does not include an explicit reference to age.

¹¹⁵ Nicholas Sammond, *Babes in Tomorrowland: Walt Disney and the Making of the American Child* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005); *Comportamento dos Residentes em Salvador no Carnaval 2009* (Salvador: Superintendência de Estudos Econômicos e Sociais da Bahia, 2009), 6-7.

¹¹⁶ Miguez de Oliveira, “Carnaval Baiano,” 169.

¹¹⁷ The group also maintained working agreements with TAM airlines and Subway restaurant. “Bloco Eva de Novidade,” *Correio da Bahia*, 14 July 2001.

and banks—institutions only marginally in reach of the majority of local revelers—and beer companies, especially Brahma and Antártica (later Skol and Schincariol as well). In 1984, the city's own private sponsors included banks (State Bank of Bahia, Economic Bank), middle-class clothing lines (Staroup Jeans, Hollywood Sport Line, Abra Jeans), and the ubiquitous Brahma, while the competition to elect the Carnival Queen was underwritten by a major shopping center Iguatemi (founded 1975) and Antártica.¹¹⁸

In 2001, Emtursa considered it a victory to have gotten Credicard as a chief sponsor because it was the first time a credit card company had invested in the city's carnival fund. Still that year, Emtursa noted that it was getting more difficult to gather sponsorship because investors were choosing *blocos* or the luxury private *camarotes*, which had five-star catering and performance spaces inside and were “replacing the traditional carnival dances.”¹¹⁹ Another problem for the agency was that they were running out of room to accommodate promotional material on official carnival's real estate of street signs, banners, pamphlets, bleachers, porticos, and independent *trio* vehicles, leading to innovations such as giving out T-shirts bearing sponsors' brands, or allowing electric company L.G. to mount a giant video screen in Barra to flash its advertisements non-stop. They also determined to expand carnival's marketing opportunities through the month of February (“the month of carnival”) as integrate the children's carnival area, Espaço Infantil, into private advertising partnerships.

The increasing gentrification of the street was also reflected in how and where carnival was interacting with city space. As noted earlier, it is unclear when the first fee-

¹¹⁸ Grupo Executivo Carnaval 84, “Boletim Carnaval 84” and “Boletim Informativo n. 9, 13 January 1984,” Waldeir Rêgo archive, Bahia State Public Library.

¹¹⁹ *Relatório do Carnaval de 2001*, archived at SaTur. The city's most important sponsors that year were Credicard, Schincariol (beer), Bompreço, L.G., Bank of Brazil, and Telemar.

charging *blocos de trio* were formed, but they were multiplying; Siqueira Dias located material suggesting that the city recognized 30 in 1985, and 65 in 1997.¹²⁰ Miguez de Oliveira points out how over the course of the 1980s three of the most influential pioneers, Internacionais (1962), Corujas (1963), and Cheiro de Amor (1980), each transferred their headquarters from their original lower-middle-class neighborhoods (Mouraria, Santo Antônio, and Itapagipe, respectively), to the tonier beachfront areas of Barra and Ondina.¹²¹ Carnival's route was also expanding, with the new carnivalized areas bearing divergent class connotations. The problem of increasing numbers of *trios* of increasing size led to a suffocation of the traditional central route; by the late 1980s, *blocos de trio* were holding their own events in Barra, on Saturday and even Friday of carnival. This became popular, especially among young people of means, who could avoid the relatively cramped and timeworn business district for Barra's spacious beachside avenues walled by modern apartment buildings and expensive shops.

However, beyond apparent class affiliation, this territorial move was not only a spontaneous initiative of the *blocos*. Documents in the Waldeloir Rêgo archive in Salvador show that in 1984, the city's Carnival Executive Group was making carnival in Barra a priority; the "objective" was to expand the local, preexisting events in the area "without making them lose their family character."¹²² There would continue to be diverse family activities, but also featuring a "presentation of *blocos*" including Camaleão and Eva, with their respective *trios elétrico*, as well as the *trio elétrico* of the State Bank of Bahia (BANEB). Certainly, more physical space was needed for a growing carnival, and

¹²⁰ The material was overviews of carnival prepared by Emtursa, the city's tourism authority. Clímaco César Siqueira Dias, "Carnaval de Salvador," 93.

¹²¹ Miguez de Oliveira, "Carnaval Baiano," 120-1.

¹²² Document entitled "Grupo Executivo do Carnaval 1984. Proposta do Carnaval da Barra." Waldeloir Rêgo archive, Bahia State Public Library.

it is easy to suspect that the fact that Barra, as a relatively wealthy neighborhood (with access to others, such as Graça, Ondina, and Vitória) with open streets, beaches, and hotels, was also becoming an international tourist haven played in to the city's carnival strategy involving an investment that year of Cr\$18.5 million *cruzeiros novos*. (That compares to a city budget of Cr\$660,264, 950 *cruzeiros novos* for carnival as a whole.¹²³) From a visual standpoint, the beaches and iconic Barra Lighthouse would provide ideal backdrops for television coverage, which, at least since the early 1970s, had featured the events around the official judging stage at the Praça da Sé. From the inception of the Carnival Executive Group, state tourism authority Bahiatursa was included as a member alongside city hall in rationalizing carnival's marketing and commercialization through, among other actions, the construction of pay-to-use bleacher seating, search for private sponsorships, and financial support of carnival attractions; expanding the touristic appeal of both the festival and its locations was obviously part of the process.¹²⁴

By 1996, the Barra route had become officially part of carnival, and a highly disputed one among *blocos de trio*. Of the ten most expensive *blocos* that year, no fewer than eight were headquartered there (the other two in nearby Ondina and Graça). Official policy strengthened the association of Barra with modernity, novelty, and opulence when, in 1994, it prohibited any *bloco de trio* created after 1992 from parading in the traditional route—ostensibly as a democratic means to ease overcrowding, without selecting individual *blocos* to assign them one place or another. This move definitively made Barra the place where the newest, trendiest, priciest *blocos* would be, and there were 62 of

¹²³Document entitled “Grupo Executivo do Carnaval 1984. Boletim Informativo n. 006, 09 December 1983. Waldeloir Rêgo archive, Bahia State Public Library.

¹²⁴Queiroz, *Turismo na Bahia*, 128.

them, called *blocos alternativos*, on that route in 1996¹²⁵ (compared to 28 older *blocos de trio*, although in many cases the new alternative *blocos* were started as investments by a preexisting *bloco*). Also in 1996, in a bold move reflecting her celebrity power at the time, Daniela Mercury refused to appear in any other circuit than Barra during carnival, a demand that was granted.¹²⁶

At around the same time, Salvador's colonial-era city center, referred to as Pelourinho, unable to support the massive *trios* but still a key tourist site to be used, became the official location of so-called "traditional carnival"—smaller-scale events for children and families with a strong dash of nostalgia (and thrift), as kids in modest homemade costumes skipped alongside wandering bands of often aged musicians playing the sambas, marches, and *frevos* of years past. Meanwhile, most of the *blocos afro* that did not attain a broad degree of public acceptance (i.e., those who were not Ilê Aiyê or Olodum¹²⁷) were regularly assigned by Salvador's carnival commission, dominated by the hegemony of the Association of *Blocos de Trio* (founded 1988), to the city center rather than Barra. Guerreiro characterizes Barra as "white territory" during carnival, as opposed to the "black territory" of the Africanized central avenues.¹²⁸ But the distinction should be understood as rooted in class as much as ethnic identification, since the largest and more successful *blocos afro*, as well as Ara Ketu that used to be a *bloco afro* but

¹²⁵ Paulo Miguez, "Que Bloco é Esse?" (Fischer, ed., *O Carnaval Baiano: Negócios e Oportunidades*), table 8, p. 91.

¹²⁶ This appears to counter the assertions of Emtursa that the professionalization of carnival after 1993 was resulting in transparency, equality and democracy in carnival administration. Emtursa, 1994: *O Salto da Qualidade do Carnaval de Salvador*, 19-20.

¹²⁷ According to a São Paulo journalist, 20% of the people who paid to parade with Olodum in 1994 were tourists, which was an indication of their broader national and especially international prestige. "Público obriga Olodum a tocar 'Requebra'," *Folha de São Paulo*, 13 February 1994.

¹²⁸ Goli Guerreiro, "Um Mapa em Preto e Branco da Música da Bahia: Territorialização e Mestiçagem no Meio Musical de Salvador 1987-1997," in Livio Sansone & Jocélio Teles dos Santos, eds., *Ritmos em Trânsito: Sócio-Antropologia da Música Baiana* (São Paulo: Editora Dynamis, 1998).

embraced pop and Afro-beat elements after a trip to Africa, have also all adopted the “white” *trio* vehicle for their vocalists, dancers, and occasional supporting rhythm and horn sections while the flanks of drummers walk alongside it.

Within this rampant growth and commercialization of carnival, the Trio Elétrico Dodô & Osmar remained active, performing every year and releasing 19 electric *frevo* LPs between 1975 and 1996—and yet they could not maintain the level of prominence surrounding the 1975 silver anniversary. After 1980 most of their records were limited releases that sold only modestly in the region during the booming national market for Salvador’s *axé music* (which reached new heights after Daniela Mercury’s groundbreaking *O Canto da Cidade* on the Sony International label in 1992, ultimately selling more than one million copies). They also had to contend with personnel changes. Moraes Moreira’s solo career, based in Rio de Janeiro, achieved a series of hit recordings. He continued to return to Bahia each summer to perform with their *trio* until 1979, when his own performance schedule conflicted with theirs, and Osmar’s son André moved from percussion to vocals in the *trio*.¹²⁹ But they were invited to perform internationally, in Italy (1983), France (1985), and Mexico (1986), where they had to adapt to playing on fixed stages since it was impossible to bring their *trio* vehicle.¹³⁰ Armandinho also expanded his solo career with the experimental jazz-rock fusion band A Cor do Som, which was invited to Switzerland’s prestigious Montreaux Jazz Festival soon after releasing their debut record in 1977. His schedule was becoming routinely full, and in 1987, on their 12th LP, *Aí Eu Liguei o Radio*, his brother Aroldo replaced him as musical director, but Armandinho still contributed songs and studio performances.

¹²⁹ Moreira, *Sonhos Elétricos*, 111-2.

¹³⁰ Fred Góes, *50 Anos do Trio Elétrico*, 94.

However, within Salvador's carnival, which was becoming a milieu where the *blocos de trios*' economic might was more than ever associated with market "popularity," celebrity, and local hegemony, Dodô and Osmar's independent *trio* was largely shut out. Private sponsors had little incentive to negotiate advertising contracts with a *trio* that, in parading without an exclusive cord, did not maintain a prized affiliated audience of consumers. Institutionally, too, an independent *trio* was increasingly viewed as a peripheral species. In 1984, when the new Carnival Executive Group invited a representative sample of carnival entities to meet with them to discuss issues such as physical space, resources, security, zoning of street commerce, and national divulgence of carnival, there were *blocos afro* and *afoxés*, *blocos de índio*, *blocos de percussão*, and *blocos de trio*, but no independent *trio*.¹³¹ In 1992, however, carnival underwent a new expansion of its management bureaucracy with the institution (through articles 261 and 262 of Salvador's Organic Municipal Law) of the Municipal Carnival Council, which still exists today in similar form; this body contained representatives of no fewer than 24 different entities, including the relatively extra-market *trios independentes* and *blocos de índio*, but most were there because of direct financial connections to the festival.¹³²

A director of city tourism authority Emtursa stated in 1996 that the impulse for carnival's expansion and "differentiation from the country's other Momo festivals" came from "the national explosion of *axé music* and the initiatives of the empresarios linked to the *blocos de trio*," a sort of engine of perpetual motion in which financial success of the

¹³¹ Eliana Maria Bittencourt Dumêt, "O Gerenciamento do Carnaval." This is clear not just in a list of categories, but in the names of individual entities provided.

¹³² Other members of the Council included one representative each from the Association of *Blocos de Trio*; Association of *Blocos Afro* and *Afoxés*; Bahiatursa; Emtursa; the Musicians' Union; Association of Carnival Journalists; Syndicate of Ambulant Vendors; Association of Owners of Sound Equipment; and the police and city health agency. Presiding above the Council was the Carnival Coordination Executive, composed of three individuals—one elected by the Council from among its members, one named by the governor, and one named by the mayor.

blocos and *trio* artists leads to enhanced tourism which breeds more financial success—a system in which Salvador’s independent trios did not participate, since their economic footprint in carnival was far smaller.¹³³ And in terms of lobbying, the independent *trios* were becoming deeply outnumbered: in 1996 carnival, 22 were licensed with the city compared to 28 *blocos de trio* and 62 so-called *blocos alternativos*.¹³⁴ But independent *trios* also relied on diminishing state and city contributions and limited direct private sponsorships (as well as their own wallets), and did not feature to nearly the same degree in the mass-mediated promotional apparatus of live coverage,¹³⁵ staged TV appearances, magazine articles, fan clubs,¹³⁶ record distribution, and radio play of the *trios* associated with elite *blocos*. Whatever their cultural contribution to the street festival, they did not generate real revenue or significant market popularity of their own. In 2001, Emtursa appeared to reaffirm its commitment to maintaining the *trios independentes* for local revelers (the *folião pipoca*) by renting eight vehicles for bands who did not own them,¹³⁷ and permitting 20 more with their own vehicles to integrate into the festival. But its own evaluation of them was frankly negative: “Nearly all had a very poor visual appearance,

¹³³ Luiz Afonso Costa, “Um Salto Planejado.”

¹³⁴ These were were not structurally different from *blocos de trio*, but were newer and less established, even if they were often owned by principal *bloco* entrepreneurs. Miguez, “Que Bloco é Esse?” table 1, p. 79.

¹³⁵ In 1998, it was desperation to exploit the presence of a rare live TV camera post filming after midnight in the Praça Castro Alves, where independent *trios* were performing in the annual “encounter of *trios*,” that appeared to drive Cid Guerreiro and his *trio* Novos Bárbaros to depart from the schedule and park themselves in front of the camera. Tapajós, waiting to enter, had to stop, and then so did Gilberto Gil’s *trio* behind it; Gil got off his vehicle to wander around the Rua Chile: “When there’s space, I’ll go.” It was noted that this egotistical breach of etiquette occurred when Osmar Macedo, who had died the year earlier, was no longer present as the symbolic leader and conductor of the event. “Guerreiro atrapaíha folia,” *Correio da Bahia*, 26 February 1998.

¹³⁶ The growth of the Internet has widened and facilitated fan culture; Santanna found that in May 2007, Daniela Mercury had over 60 fan clubs in Brazil, as well as clubs in Argentina, Italy, Holland, Russia, England, Israel, Spain, Portugal, and France (*As Donas do Canto*, 235-6).

¹³⁷ It is very expensive to rent a *trio elétrico*, and as technology improves the value likely goes up constantly. I could not find numbers for 2001, but the 2008 *Relatório* reveals that to rent 8 vehicles that year, the city paid a staggering R\$1,971,000 *reais*. Revenue from private sponsors would have covered some (or ideally, all) of that.

while only two were excellent. And their artistic attractions, yet again, left much to be desired—insufficient repertoire, weak material, unprofessional attitudes.”¹³⁸

The Association of *Blocos de Trio* had accrued formidable leverage after 1988 in determining which types of groups paraded where, and at what times.¹³⁹ Independent *trios* were shunted to undesirable time slots after 8 pm (or much later) when the national media typically ceased live filming on the street. Vovô, the leader of *bloco afro* Ilê Aiyê, argued that racism played in to the *blocos afro* also being placed late at night, a problem he hoped to rectify when he assumed a rotating leadership role in the carnival administration for the 1996 festival.¹⁴⁰ His limited advances in that regard were largely done away with under ensuing administrations. Two years later, Daniela Mercury publicly advocated using a lottery system to assign route schedules, citing it as more democratic and fair, but the scheme was not adopted.¹⁴¹ Mercury’s concern for the *blocos afro* in particular may have been legitimate, but her posture was a safe way to appear compassionate and democratic by voicing support for something that would be impossible due to the vast number of interests the mass-mediated, market structure of carnival served (her domineering attitude toward appearing only in the Barra route was just a few years behind). The televising of carnival provided free advertising for the *blocos de trio*, the *trio* bands who would perform the music from their CDs, and of course the city itself, while the brands of the sponsors who invested in both the city and the *blocos* would be on full parade. In fact, while the “advertising” was free for the *blocos*, it

¹³⁸ *Relatório do Carnaval de 2001*: “Trios Independentes.”

¹³⁹ Armandinho emphasized Bell Marques, leader of the band Chiclete com Banana (of the *bloco* Camaleão), as a longstanding figure of special weight in the backrooms negotiation of performance schedules. Armandinho Macedo, personal communication, 6 January 2012, Salvador.

¹⁴⁰ “A Experiência do Ilê na Coordenação do Carnaval,” *Bahia Análise & Dados* vol. 5 #4 March 1996. Vovô’s limited advances in that regard were largely done away with under other carnival administrations.

¹⁴¹ “Daniela Mercury defende sorteio para definir ordem do desfile,” *Correio da Bahia*, 20 February 1998.

could come at a cost to Salvador's public, or at least it did in 1994 when the city offered a "relatively miniscule" payment of US\$60,000 to TV Manchete to base its national carnival transmission in Salvador.¹⁴² But hours of live local coverage by four, then 5 different channels doubled between 1997 and 1999. By the end of the decade, Emtursa, not the television stations, was negotiating with businesses who hoped to advertise during those broadcasts.¹⁴³ Emtursa also boasted that 2001 carnival received over 82 hours of coverage on national channels, and almost 106 hours on international networks including TV Bandeirantes (a reach of 50 countries), DirecTV (29 countries), TV Unam of Mexico (4 countries), and Globo International (80 countries), as well as BBC.¹⁴⁴ Surveys conducted by SalTur in 2009 indicated that over 40% of national tourists had been persuaded to come join Salvador's carnival by viewing TV coverage of the event.¹⁴⁵

Broadcasting live coverage further integrated the local event into Brazil's mass-mediated celebrity culture, as carnival became a place to be seen, attracting actors, musicians, and various prominent people from Rio and São Paulo and later from around the world. This contradictory aspect of Salvador's carnival was apparent even by 1972 as the discourse of "popular participation" was being consolidated, with the aforementioned *Veja* feature stressing that "the basic difference between *carioca* carnival and Salvador's is the absence in Bahia of the preoccupation with exhibition"¹⁴⁶ while also including pictures of such celebrities as television host Chacrinha, actor / director Jece Valadão, and architect Oscar Niemeyer posing drink in hand enjoying the revelry. Recent research

¹⁴² Emtursa, 1994: *O Salto da Qualidade do Carnaval de Salvador*, 26. This is the only specific indication I found of such an investment in a media corporation, but it is reasonable to suppose there were more.

¹⁴³ Based on 1999's hours of coverage and average commercial price, an advertiser who wanted nineteen 30-second spots would be looking around fifteen million *reais*. *Relatório do Carnaval de 2000*.

¹⁴⁴ *Relatório do Carnaval de 2001*.

¹⁴⁵ SalTur, *Diagnóstico Mercadológico do Carnaval 2009*, 39.

¹⁴⁶ "Festa Elétrica."

among some principal *blocos de trio* suggests that each year around 10% of a *bloco*'s *abadás*, its official costume, are held off the market to give to selected *convidados* (invited members) because of these individuals' physical appearance, political connections, or celebrity status, which would enhance the *bloco*'s public image.¹⁴⁷

By the runup to 1996 carnival, Armandinho said the Trio Elétrico Dodô & Osmar was “sick of begging for financial support for our carnival vehicle, and sick of begging for a reasonable parade time that wasn’t in the middle of the night. I mean, we came up with this whole thing.”¹⁴⁸ That year was their first and only experiment with entering into a contractual agreement with a cord-carrying, private *bloco*, Adrenalina (Adrenaline), which attracted an estimated 1,200 members. While the news release in *A Tarde* featured a photograph of a smiling Armandinho signing the contract,¹⁴⁹ the text drove the real point home: “This partnership happened, according to Armandinho, because of the way the dominant *trios* linked to *blocos* have been limiting access to carnival space in recent years.” The daytime Adrenalina parades were intended to add to the *trio*'s presence, not replace their traditional free appearances at night, while bringing the band needed revenue. But their *bloco* association ended after just one year (the entire *bloco* was dismantled). In 2009, Aroldo told the *Diário de Pernambuco* that the experience had been “frustrating” and “we learned our lesson... carnival is to spread happiness and enjoy music, not to make money. What are you going to do?”¹⁵⁰

One can speculate on the fate of their short-lived *bloco*—perhaps it failed to meet expected receipts, or perhaps Osmar, the patriarch and spirit of the organization (who was

¹⁴⁷ Guerra de Andrade, “O Sistema Franchising e o Carnaval da Bahia,” 72.

¹⁴⁸ Armandinho Macedo, personal communication, 6 January 2012, Salvador.

¹⁴⁹ “Tradição adere `a novidade,” *A Tarde* (Salvador), 09 February 1996.

¹⁵⁰ “Trio Armandinho, Dodô e Osmar faz a festa sem cordas na Barra-Ondina,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, 25 February 2009.

not regularly participating anymore aboard the *trio*, and would pass away the next year) took an emphatic private stand against it, because he had been publicly rejecting the very idea of a carnival with cords separating revelers since 1973. It must have been distasteful at the least to see his sons resort to it under the name of his own *trio*. The same year Adrenalina arose, Osmar gave an interview sharply criticizing the history of unequal and inconsistent private investment in carnival, stating “Public space on the street is disappearing [and] independent *trios* are dying because business won’t support them... The only solution is for the government to take the responsibility to completely, exclusively underwrite carnival for the people.”¹⁵¹

That would be a considerable investment, daunting to nearly any government; but Salvador’s government, even as Osmar spoke in early 1996, was reducing its investment in carnival “to the maximum.”¹⁵² Due to “financial difficulties” in part associated with lingering national constraints from president Cardoso’s 1994 *Real Plan*, Salvador’s city hall was privatizing much of the infrastructure it used to provide, including decoration, lighting, bleachers, exclusive windowbox seats (*camarotes*), and even the control headquarters for the city and tourism officials in Campo Grande, including radio and telecommunications equipment and fencing.¹⁵³ The city spent US\$6.5 million on the carnival of 1994 (30% of which was covered by private investment), and next year’s budget was cut by a full quarter to US\$5 million.¹⁵⁴ By 2000, city hall / Emtursa estimated a carnival budget of just under R\$3 million *reais*,¹⁵⁵ or (given the

¹⁵¹ “Osmar Macedo: ‘Trio independente para o povão está acabando,’” *Correio da Bahia*, 17 February 1996.

¹⁵² “Setor privado assume a estrutura da folia de Momo,” *Correio da Bahia*, 17 February 1996.

¹⁵³ “Camarotes são terceirizados,” *Correio da Bahia*, 17 February 1996.

¹⁵⁴ Emtursa, 1994: *O Salto da Qualidade do Carnaval de Salvador*.

¹⁵⁵ *Relatório do Carnaval de 2000*, “Previsão orçamentária.”

complications in historical currency conversions) around US\$1.5 million—a clear negative trend in financial commitment at the time.

But three other factors were involved in the city's financial woes in the 1990s, and likely contributed to Armandinho's resorting to a private *bloco* arrangement in 1996 as well. First, while the history of local private cooperation with the city in underwriting carnival is extensive, by the mid-1990s, some of the wealthiest investors were national corporations and were opting not to partner anymore with the city—for their brands to appear on municipal bleachers, signs, floats, decorations, brochures, et cetera—to instead target their resources on the exclusive *blocos de trio*, which according to their own research promised better returns. This reduced the funds that might be redistributed to non- or less-market-based cultural entities who applied for public support, such as independent *trios* or the *blocos afro*. It also constrained the city's optimistic goal, expressed by both Emtursa and the mayor in the early 1990s, for carnival to soon become “self-sufficient” by bringing in enough private investment to have to spend no public funds whatsoever.¹⁵⁶ This long-desired goal started to seem possible after the carnival of 1993 when, adding to the luster of the city's carnival victory over Rio, the beer companies Brahma and Antarctica engaged in a bidding war over the city's sponsorship package for Campo Grande, long the central focus point of the festival's mass-mediation (but starting to lose out to Barra).¹⁵⁷ There was variation in the trend of private investment in the city; for instance, in 2000, the city took in R\$1,230,000 in investment, a

¹⁵⁶ Emtursa, 1994: *O Salto da Qualidade do Carnaval de Salvador*.

¹⁵⁷ “Salvador pune excesso de ‘merchandising.’” *O Globo*, 26 February 1993. The event showed how carnival's spatial focus was dividing between the central route and Barra. Brahma paid US\$200,000 for the Campo Grande rights, but during the festival itself perceived that Antarctica, which sponsored Barra and Praça Castro Alves for US\$170,000, was getting more airtime. Their reaction, according to city officials, was to break their contract by invading Antarctica's space, including with branded helicopters circling overhead; the city charged Brahma a penalty of 100 million *cruzeiros*.

full R\$305,000 more than the year before.¹⁵⁸ But the overall direction was negative. Research by a city councilman in 2001 showed that in 2001, private sponsorship covered only 14% of the city's expenditure of R\$5 million.¹⁵⁹ By the mid-2000s, the city had resorted relying on a São Paulo-based publicity corporation to try to capture sponsors.

Second, the emergence of Fazcultura at the level of state policy by 1997 was not a spontaneous action detached from other trends, but was part of a cohering tendency to reform state cultural management around stimulating private investment in culture, principally through the mechanism of providing tiered tax exemptions (along the model of state / local encouragement of private investment in tourism). The state wanted to reduce its patronage to culture producers and instead foster market-based support. Again, left on their own, the independent *trios* would not have been immediately favored by this initiative.¹⁶⁰ It is also notable that of the three categories of investment created by Fazcultura's resolution 856/99, sponsors looking to invest in carnival for a tax break would get a better return for investing in temporary infrastructure (bleachers, signage, portable toilets, tourist kiosks, et cetera, the "virtual city" of carnival) than if they chose to support independent *trios*.¹⁶¹ This was a way to encourage corporate sponsors to come back to investing directly into the city's carnival expenses, with a series of packaged branding options. Earlier, investors dumped funds into the city but city hall, Emtursa, and Bahiatura (among others, perhaps even Bahia's governor) would decide how to allocate

¹⁵⁸ *Relatório do Carnaval de 2000*. The five principal sponsors were Telebahia Celular (state telecommunications), Embratur (federal tourism agency), Maxitel (national telecommunications), Bompreço (national grocery store chain), and Pepsi.

¹⁵⁹ "Prefeitura gasta R\$5 milhões com carnaval e arrecada 14%." *A Tarde* (Salvador), 17 September 2001. The numbers appear persuasive, but the political backdrop might be noted: the councilman, Emiliano José, was affiliated with the Workers Party (PT), and this was a way to embarrass *carlista* mayor Imbassahy.

¹⁶⁰ Mariella Pitombo Vieira, "Política Cultural na Bahia: O Caso do Fazcultura," Masters thesis, Federal University of Bahia, 2004, 15.

¹⁶¹ These were 1) *blocos de índio*, *blocos afros*, *blocos de percussão*, *afoxés*, 70% deduction; 2) Operational infrastructure, 50% deduction; 3) Independent *trios*, 40% deduction.

those funds. Now the three tiered categories left the choice up to the investors as to where they wanted their brands to appear, and in that sense the structured tax deductions in Fazcultura might be taken as an aggressive posture by government toward the independent *trios*, who now competed for sponsorship with the city itself.¹⁶²

Third, Salvador's mayor at the time (January 1993 – December 1996), Lídice da Mata, was an outspoken leftist and critic of formidable Bahian politician Antônio Carlos Magalhães; she had beat out ACM's personal pick to lead city hall in the public vote of 1992. Some of the city's financial pain was likely caused by direct action of the state government, at the time in the hands of ACM protégé and conservative governor Paulo Souto, towards Salvador's upstart mayor.¹⁶³ And it turns out that an unintended consequence of the *Real* Plan was that international travel was suddenly more accessible to wealthier Brazilians, leading to reductions in travel to Bahia.¹⁶⁴ However, state tourism authority Bahiatursa was still contributing directly to carnival (US\$750,000 for 1994).¹⁶⁵ As early as 1993, her first year in office, da Mata asserted that carnival had strategic economic importance for the city, and she began taking bold new strides in making private investment expansive and systematic, as well as opening up many of the support

¹⁶² In 2003, which was the only year for which I could find documentation at SalTur, the amounts requested by independent *trios* varied considerably, based in part on the prestige of the artists involved but also on whether they owned their own *trio* vehicle (the city also rents a small fleet). For instance, the application for the Trio Elétrico Tributo a Raul, a tribute to Bahian rocker Raul Seixas, asked for R\$25,000 *reais*, while the Trio Sensação, with Moraes Moreira and Paulinho Boca de Cantor, asked for R\$360,000 *reais*. Several of the appeals for help had been copied to either the governor (then Otto Alencar, but soon to be Paulo Souto in 2003) or the grandson of Bahian patrician Antônio Carlos Magalhães, ACM Neto, then a federal deputy; even without knowing specific details, that fact hints of networks of patronage.

¹⁶³ There is no small irony that Osmar's appeal for government support of carnival in the 1996 interview cited earlier was carried in the newspaper *Correio da Bahia*, owned by conservative politician and benefactor of Dodô and Osmar, Antonio Carlos Magalhães—and right next to Osmar's interview was printed an extensive account of the city's privatization efforts. The *Correio*'s editorial staff might have been trying to suggest that mayor, Lídice da Mata either had a tin ear towards matters of local history and cultural identity, or was simply an inept manager.

¹⁶⁴ Queiroz, *Turismo na Bahia*, 156.

¹⁶⁵ Emtursa, 1994: *O Salto da Qualidade do Carnaval de Salvador*.

services the city had provided to private contractors—proving that the process of privatization was upheld by politicians on the left as well as the right.¹⁶⁶ The longstanding relationship between her political foe ACM and the Trio Elétrico Dodô and Osmar—explored in the following chapter—might have led Salvador’s mayor to cut ties with the pioneering carnival performers for ideological reasons, in the manner of “cleaning house” common to changing political regimes along Brazilian history. Emtursa’s 1995 carnival study emphasized that part of the mayor’s “professionalization” of carnival included transforming the artist selection process from being traditionally obscure, “leaving no written register, and riddled with favoritism,” to feature structured panels applying open, objective criteria.¹⁶⁷ The degree to which that actually occurred is unverifiable, but the new administration’s message of rejecting old models and relationships was clear. *Carlista* governor Souto may well have intervened to help the group privately, but the increasing rationalization and privatization of culture management, within a political worldview favoring deregulation, neoliberalism, and a post-dictatorship government reluctant to impose its presence, might also have applied reverse pressure even on the maintenance of traditional patronage relationships.

¹⁶⁶ She was praised in the Emtursa document cited above as a “pioneer” in the history of the city’s “professional negotiations with private enterprise” (18). That document also presented an undated photocopy of an interview she gave the *Folha de São Paulo* “soon after carnival” in February 1993, entitled “Rio ‘dançou,’ afirma prefeita de Salvador,” where da Mata claimed “What was needed was a socialist mayor to really start to take advantage of capitalism” (36).

¹⁶⁷ Sometime around this period, Moreira (who did not refer to specific dates) alleges that his growing criticism of the commercialization of carnival and the dominance of the *blocos de trio* led to his being regarded a *persona non grata* and receiving “retaliations” from Emtursa, which, he claims, denied support for his independent *trio* (Moreira, 149-50). Moreira began performing regularly in Recife’s carnival. If true, his allegations lend support to the idea that the Trio Elétrico Dodô and Osmar might also have been singled out for denial of support. I could find no systematic data regarding the allocation of public funds for the city’s 16 independent *trios* at this time, and what is left is oral history and opinion.

Chapter 4: “Happiness is a State We Call Bahia”:

Politics, Musical Identity, and the Business of *Baianidade*, 1970s-2000s

This chapter explores the roots of the relationship between the Trio Elétrico Dodô & Osmar and Bahian politician Antônio Carlos Magalhães (ACM), to shine light on how the group’s musical production—both their carnival recordings, and two political jingles they recorded for conservative politicians—constructed a happy, festive, idealized view of Salvador’s carnival and the city itself. Although the creators of the *trio elétrico* and their next generation were sidelined from the carnival spotlight by the end of the 1970s, their musical construct of the city helped lay the foundation for Salvador’s next phase of carnival music by the late 1980s, the commercial juggernaut of *axé music*. Music made in Bahia was now being heard on recordings and airwaves around the country, summoning Brazilians to come visit to experience “the nation’s carnival.” When Bahia began to export its own locally-recorded music, its artists focused on tropes that resonated in terms of both local identity, and abiding national concerns regarding race and class harmony.

The economic significance of carnival by the early 1990s solidified the city’s commitment to accommodating and encouraging its growth, as both a tourist attraction and development strategy,¹ but increasingly the distance between the utopian, sung city and the real one of poverty and violence was in stark relief. This offered the clearest demonstration yet of the fact that local carnival could achieve the title of Brazil’s

¹ The glossy promotional material given to potential sponsors for 1998 declared, “If up to now Bahian carnival has been good business, just wait until next year, when city hall’s investments in more and better lighting for the TV cameras, so your trademarks look better on screen; higher-speed technology for broadcasting images; videowalls for advertisers; and new spaces for branding will begin to bear fruit. We are creating better conditions to attract more and more people. Whoever becomes a partner of this project will get the returns they deserve.” *Tropicália Carnaval 1998*.

carnival, and grow into the world's largest street festival, while betraying the ideals of "popular participation" hazily glimpsed in the late 1960s and 1970s. It may be true that "consumption contributes to the integrative and communicative rationality of a society," or that the nation is "increasingly defined as an interpretive community of consumers,"² but the balance of power in Bahian society, reflected in its carnival, affirmed that full citizenship depends on the means to consume rationally—either through economic means, or by attaining education—in the first place. That the music and the festival itself seemed on the surface to resolve Brazil's deep contradictions regarding race and class in new, contemporary, mass-culture forms added to its national appeal and national success. While Salvador's newest elite, its carnival musicians, came together to sing "We are the world of carnival" in the 1990s to help stimulate tourism, targeted policy helped ensure that the city's poor were being both symbolically and actually left at the margins of carnival's production, consumption, and territorial reach.

The Silver Anniversary: Antônio Carlos Magalhães "Saves the Farm"

When Osmar Macedo referred to then-federal senate president Antônio Carlos Magalhães (ACM) as "my great friend" in a 1997 televised interview about the *trio elétrico*;³ or when in 1998 the Trio Elétrico Dodô & Osmar, led by Armandinho, publicly presented a beaming ACM and two of his closest Liberal Front Party allies in Bahia—Paulo Souto and Antônio Imbassahy—with a special trophy from the *trio* founders, declaring those three politicians the real "*trio elétrico* of the year,"⁴ ACM was publicly reaping the rewards of seeds planted a quarter-century before. To comprehend the origins of a carnival group's open embrace and endorsement of ACM, an ideologically

² Canclini, *Consumers and Citizens*, 40, 43.

³ *Frente a Frente: Osmar Macedo*.

⁴ "Trio de Armandinho mantém o alto astral," *Correio da Bahia*, 25 February 1998.

conservative man associated locally amongst his critics with the military regime and a flair for strategic appearances before the camera at cultural events of the city's Afro-Bahian population such as the washing of the Santa Luz church by a host of *baianas* in traditional costume at the Pituba Festival in 1973,⁵ one must return to the 1974 preparations for Dodô and Osmar's silver jubilee.

The carnival of the twenty-fifth anniversary was to be a commemoration of the past, but new sounds and influences also kept it contemporary. Dodô and Osmar were considering retiring from carnival after 1975, and officially passing the tradition on to their heirs. They turned out not to do so, continuing to perform and periodically record albums (Dodô died in 1978, while Osmar was active until the late 1980s). But a definite shift in tone in their music was occurring as Armandinho, 21 years old in 1974 and with wide interests in rock and roll reflecting his generation (he had played with his brother Betinho in a band called Hell's Angels in the late 1960s), was granted more artistic responsibility and exposure in the *trio*. Rock elements were worked into *frevô* arrangements, or (in Osmar's phrase) *trio-eletricizados*, such as the carnival version of the Rolling Stones' "Satisfaction" Gilberto Gil composed for the band's 1976 record.⁶ In preparations for the recording of the first long-play by the Trio Elétrico Dodô and Osmar, in 1974, Moraes Moreira was invited by Dodô and Osmar through Armandinho to join

⁵ "Lavagem da igreja da Pituba mostrou como será o carnaval," *Diário de Notícias*, 23 February 1973.

⁶ In an often-told anecdote, during 1975 carnival, Armandinho began incorporating an imported distortion pedal on his *guitarra baiana*, in the mode of rock guitarists such as Jimi Hendrix. Dodô was mortified, saying that he had worked too hard to make the sound of the amplified guitars "clean" for young Armando to start "throwing sand in the sound," and climbed off the *trio* in protest. Armandinho acceded to his demands, apparently; he told me that he plugged the unit back in dialed to zero, and ever so slowly turned it up until the gain had been imperceptible. It turns out the young musician actually had an ear for tradition: "Dodô thought I wanted to turn it all into rock and roll, and maybe there was some of that, but really the imported speakers made the sound *too* clean and pure. For me, the sound of the *trio elétrico* is the sound of those old metal cornet-style speakers that they first used, that naturally have an overdriven sound when you turn them up" (Armando Macedo, personal communication, 04 January 2011, Salvador, Bahia).

the group to sing several songs that described the *trio* and its history. Moreira was in the process of leaving his band, the Novos Baianos, which had formed around 1968 and explored a combination of rock sounds with traditional Brazilian music.⁷ As he recalls, Osmar had originally wanted Bahian singer Gal Costa for the debut LP, but her record label intervened to direct her career away from music too inflected by carnival or region.⁸ Moreira wanted a new direction in his own career, had admired Armandinho from afar, and as a Bahian was intrigued by the possibilities of joining the iconic group. He had the professional contacts to get Dodô, Osmar, and Armandinho a record deal with Continental, with recording sessions at Estúdio Hawaii in Rio de Janeiro.

The record, *Jubileu de Prata*, combined carnival, classical, and commercial elements in a demonstration of the musicians' stylistic appetites and skills, as well as their whimsy. They ran Paganini's "Perpetual Motion," Liszt's "Hungarian Rhapsody," and Mozart's "Turkish March" into the sonic blender of the *trio's* sharp amplification, rendered morse code into *frevo* syncopation, and performed their own "Frevo do Trio Elétrico" hit whose version by Caetano Veloso had been recently incorporated into a *telenovela* on Globo, "Super Manuela."⁹ They also initiated the "Desafilho" (a word combining *desafio*, challenge, and *filho*, son), which featured father and son affectionately pushing each other to new extremes of solos over different song forms; this became a staple of their public performances for years. The LP was released in late 1974

⁷ Members included other Bahian musicians who would go on to have long careers in and out of Salvador's popular music and carnival scene, such as Baby Consuelo, Pepeu Gomes, and Paulinho Boca de Cantor. João Gilberto was an unlikely friend and fan of the band, often appearing at their hippie-like commune; in 1972, after making the record *Acabou Chorare* (which many years later *Rolling Stone Brazil* declared among the 100 best Brazilian albums of all time, the band moved to Rio de Janeiro, where Moraes still lives.

⁸ Moreira, *Sonhos Elétricos*, 27-8.

⁹ Góes, *O País do Trio Elétrico*, 82.

to anticipate the coming carnival. But a month after completing it, they returned to the studio to record a .45 rpm single under very different conditions.¹⁰

As 1975 carnival approached, Dodô and Osmar had a familiar dilemma: how to raise money to mount their vehicle. Anticipation for their appearance had been building in the media since 1973, and the event being organized by the Department of Folklore and Popular Festivals (a recent subdivision of the Department of Tourism) would include organized homages from other *trio elétricos* as well as *afoxés* and the Federation of Carnival Clubs, and the presentation of a trophy, all taking place around the official judging stage in the Praça Municipal.¹¹ The city's carnival decorations would also be based on the theme of the anniversary of the *trio elétrico*. Dodô and Osmar needed 218,000 *cruzeiros* to mount their *trio*, which would be a Mercedes truck featuring a model of a *baiana* in typical dress holding a large cake with twenty-five candles, with their original Ford car on top.¹² It also would contain a rotating stage, refrigerator, and bathroom, as well as an elevator (necessary for Osmar, who had suffered a back injury while working on site at the Teatro Castro Alves, making it necessary for him to walk with a crutch or cane), and a 30-kilowatt amplifier just for the lights.¹³ Ironically for the *trio* that in the 1950s paraded across the city in the Carnival in the Neighborhoods program and in spontaneous detours, this year their *trio* was too tall and risked running into electrical wires if it left a sharply circumscribed area; Osmar issued a public statement explaining that in spite of many invitations they could not leave the city center,

¹⁰ Aroldo Macedo, personal communication, 09 January 2012, Salvador, Bahia.

¹¹ "Parabéns para Dodô e Osmar: Eles são o carnaval da Bahia."

¹² "Dodô e Osmar já garantiram suas presenças na rua," *Diário de Notícias*, 05 February 1975. Their 1974 carnival *trio* also carried the Ford car, which they sat or stood in while performing.

¹³ "Veja com quantos fios se faz um Trio Elétrico por dentro," *Jornal da Bahia*, 03 March 1975.

where wires had been raised one meter to accommodate their *trio*.¹⁴ Private sponsorship was not forthcoming because, according to Osmar, businesses feared that due to the nature of the event as an anniversary celebration, other advertisements or logos referring to the corporations' brands would be hard to pick out, or merely ignored by the public.¹⁵ City hall offered less than half of what the *trio* needed, but in the end, "saving the farm," Osmar said,¹⁶ governor Antônio Carlos Magalhães promised in 1974 to give them 80,000 *cruzeiros* as a down payment and the rest after carnival. The initial amount was just about what was needed to pay for the speakers, once again imported from the United States.

The governor may have already interacted with the Macedo family by then, since Bahiatursa had scheduled a performance by Armandinho among their attractions at the touristic Feira da Bahia ("Bahia Fair") in late September 1974 at the Convention Hall Palace in São Paulo, and Magalhães was deeply involved with Bahiatursa, created the year before.¹⁷ For Magalhães, the carnival situation represented an opportunity. His political career, which had started in the 1950s, was becoming solidified through an alliance with the military dictatorship. Like many Brazilian politicians, ACM switched loyalties with ease; a supporter of Kubitschek in the late 1950s, he disliked Goulart intensely and, sensing the trend of national political forces by 1963, became an ardent supporter of the military coup. He would ultimately turn on it too in a strategic move, allying himself with the forces of rejuvenation and democracy, only two years before its

¹⁴ Parabéns para Dodô e Osmar: Eles são o carnaval da Bahia."

¹⁵ "Dodô e Osmar já garantiram suas presenças na rua."

¹⁶ "Dodô e Osmar já garantiram suas presenças na rua."

¹⁷ The event is mentioned in *ViverBahia* #12, October 1974. Queiroz (*Turismo na Bahia*, 119-20) notes that Bahiatursa obtained a co-sponsor in the Globo network, assuring the event "ample divulgence on television and other communication media." Armandinho's participation in the Feira was recalled by Moraes (*Sonhos Elétricos*, 27), who noted that Armandinho came to Rio to meet with him to discuss entering the band right after the show in São Paulo. That was late September, and the *Trio Elétrico Dodô & Osmar*'s LP was still in the planning stages; that it was recorded and released before carnival suggests how quickly things were happening as the band struggled to secure funding for the *trio* vehicle.

imminent end in 1985. In return, he had been named mayor of Salvador (1967-1970) and would be the appointed governor of Bahia twice (1971-5; 1979-83) before being elected governor again by public vote (1991-4). In the interim, he held national positions—head of the electrical agency Eletrobrás (1975-1978, named by Geisel) and Minister of Communications (1985-1990, a “gift” from the Neves administration for his support, which Sarney, Neves’s successor, maintained)—allowing him to expand his personal brokerage relationships. He became a formidable player in local media: his Bahian newspaper, *Correio da Bahia*, started circulation in 1979. TV Bahia, an affiliate of Rede Manchete, began under his family’s ownership in 1985, and quickly obtained the desirable retransmission rights for Globo from a competitor, likely through connections.

It was ACM who spearheaded the project to “restore” the degrading colonial-era architecture in Salvador’s Pelourinho district and shape it into a tourist attraction in 1992-3, which involved quickly relocating its poor Afro-Bahian residents—occasionally by force, and often to new barracks-like “communities” an hour away from the city.¹⁸ His supporters referred to him fondly as *cabeça branca* (“white head”), hanging portraits of him in their homes or places of business, while critics called him *Toninho Malvadeza* (Wicked Tony). Reporting indicates that after his death, when the Bahian public was allowed to pay their last respects in July 2007, the crowd was composed of politicians of every stripe pondering the future, supporters (nearly all of whom over 50 years of age) including a woman who fainted from emotion, and a gaggle of student protestors

¹⁸ John F. Collins, “The Revolt of the Saints: Popular Memory, Urban Renewal and National Heritage in the Twilight of Brazilian ‘Racial Democracy,’” Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 2003. The official impulse to restore the district dates to the 1950s, when the spacious buildings were abandoned by mid-century elites for modern developments closer to the ocean; the population of squatter settlements, and the center of Salvador’s bohemian night-life culture, quickly took their place.

declaring that the “era of tyranny” in Bahia was finally over.¹⁹ But while a variety of Salvador’s carnival superstars merely rendered superficial praise, calling him a “visionary” and expressing vague sympathy for his family,²⁰ Armandinho years later was still highlighting him as a reliable source of support and prestige: “He always helped us out and we could always count on him.”²¹

By the 1990s, for artists immersed in the marketplace, political relationships could be useful for small, secret ad-hoc transactions or the occasional symbolic gesture, but they also contained the risk of taint by association, and there was not the inherent need for patronage that carnival entities without a market base experienced. On the other hand, artists whom the market did not anoint with success relied on assistance from friends in high places, and typically appeared genuine in their gratitude. In 1990, composer / vocalist Gerônimo, longtime friend of Armandinho and the *trio elétrico* founders (and who recorded with them in the 1970s under the nickname Broquinha), wrote a song dedicated to Magalhães entitled “ACM Meu Amor (ACM My Love).”²² Magalhães, who had suffered a heart attack in 1989, was starting a run for Bahia’s governorship in 1990 and quickly adapted the song into his campaign apparatus. It would be unusual for any of the top-selling stars to take such an overt political stand or reveal their allegiances, in large part because that could divide their audience of consumers (or, less cynically put, it could introduce the distortions of partisanship to a carnival that had

¹⁹ “Baianos acordam cedo para despedida de ACM,” *A Tarde* (Salvador), 21 July 2007.

²⁰ “Tristeza no axé,” *A Tarde* (Salvador), 23 July 2007.

²¹ “Armandinho: Herdeiro e memória do carnaval de Dodô & Osmar,” Armandinho Macedo, personal communication, 6 January 2012, Salvador.

²² Over a synthesized samba-reggae rhythm based on the *bloco afro* Olodum and popular in Bahia at the time, Gerônimo praised the politician—“such courage, Doctor! / Come on and govern! / No one has done what you have done / Whoever likes Bahia wants him.” Gerônimo’s use of “Doctor” was astute, since not only was Magalhães trained in medicine, the term would also be familiar as a title of respect to one’s superior that was part of traditional northeastern social relations.

been discursively constructed as a celebration of democracy on its own), and it could also set those artists up for embarrassment as political winds change. The stakes for survival were higher for culture producers without the economic autonomy of the celebrity elite.

That was precisely the case when the *bloco afro* and NGO Olodum, whose rhythmic innovations in the 1980s fueled both local cultural production (providing the rhythmic foundation to much early *axé music*) and tourism to Pelourinho, where they had been based since 1979, created a schism in their own ranks involving Magalhães. As a local carnival group with international prestige but an uncertain commercial base, and with an activist philosophy of racial consciousness, their alliances were complex. Breaking from an implicit relationship with the *carlistas* (it was ACM who gave them a large house for new headquarters during the renovation of Pelourinho), several of their directors began to openly support leftist candidates in the 1990s—attracted in part to their more progressive racial dialogues, which Brazil’s United Black Movement (MNU) supported.²³ In 1996, a director, sister of the *bloco*’s founder, allied herself with Salvador’s leftist mayor, Lídice da Mata, and attempted to run for local office. When the *carlistas* retook the mayorship with Antônio Imbassahy a year later, the tables were turned and a chastened Olodum asked for a meeting with ACM (then president of the National Congress) in his office in Brasília to formally ask for “dialogue and cooperation” with the renewed majority party.²⁴ Clearly, there were risks to open political

²³ That case involved several directors signing a contract for the *bloco* to perform at an event for Paulo Maluf, then running for mayor of São Paulo. They were forced to cancel the contract and publicly return the money. Allegations of bribes and treachery left ill will within the group’s leadership. “Quem manda no Olodum,” *Veja Bahia*, September-October 1992. Several years later, the group expressed support for Luiz Inácio (Lula) da Silva, of the Workers’ Party (PT), viewed with particular disdain by ACM’s PFL party.

²⁴ “Olodum pede apoio político e cultural a ACM,” *Correio da Bahia*, 26 March 1997. The article, appearing in ACM’s own newspaper, carries a photograph of the meeting; the group’s directors gaze uncomfortably around the room to avoid the camera while ACM beams in pleasure. The *bloco*’s finances were in profound disarray, leaving them in danger of being unable to participate in carnival in 1998. Their

affiliation, but the risks were far greater if one turned one's back on a former friend, which Osmar and Armandinho never did. However, in 2007, with ACM sick and *carlismo* in decline, Armandinho pragmatically awarded the *trio's* trophy to Bahian governor Jaques Wagner of the Workers' Party: "He deserves it. Our *trio* is on the road today thanks to the support we received from the state government," he declared.²⁵

In a recent assessment of ACM's early political career, Dantas Neto suggests that the perception of the politician as merely a two-dimensional conservative and reactionary opportunist is overblown. He argues that the "*carlista* hegemony" in Bahia derived more from the many ways that Magalhães addressed the larger project of "conservative modernization" of the state shared by many Bahian elites of diverse orientations, and the (albeit limited) material ways he supported various underprivileged cultural groups that the private sector and the public were unwilling to help.²⁶ Be that as it may, during the repressive *anos de chumbo* (years of lead) in the late 1960s and early 1970s, there was no doubt where his ideological loyalties lay. Magalhães declared in a national magazine in 1972 that AI-5, the Institutional Act of December 1968 which closed congress, suspended habeas corpus in matters of national security, and authorized strict media censorship, "hasn't hurt anyone" and he was frankly "tired of hearing about it."²⁷

Still, as a shrewd politician with insatiable interest in the state's popular culture, he was quick to both recognize the utility of local carnival's new "popular" discourse,

own humility in appearing to return to throne of Magalhães, as well as a publicity campaign to help them taken up by stars such as Daniela Mercury, Gilberto Gil, and Caetano Veloso, resulted in a loan—not a donation for a *quid pro quo* as with the Trio Elétrico Dodô and Osmar—from the state. Edson Farias, *Ócio e Negócio: Festas Populares e Entretenimento Turismo no Brasil* (Curitiba: Appris, 2011), 262.

²⁵ "Governador recebe troféu que simboliza surgimento do trio elétrico no carnaval," portaldabahia.com, 20 February 2007 (<http://portaldabahia.blogspot.com/2007/02/governador-recebe-trofeu-que-simboliza>, accessed 17 January 2012).

²⁶ Paulo Fábio Dantas Neto, *Tradição, autocracia e carisma: A política de Antônio Carlos Magalhães na modernização da Bahia, 1954-1974* (Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG, 2006).

²⁷ Interview with Antônio Carlos Magalhães, "O AI-5 Não Faz Mal a Ninguém" (*Veja* 26 January 1972).

and ally himself with it. His support of the founding *trio* should be understood in that broader context. The media and public attention were increasingly focused on the *trio*'s anniversary, and its significance to the growth in Salvador's carnival. Coincidentally, the state's tourism authority Bahiatursa had launched its tourist magazine, *ViverBahia*, into national distribution in November 1973, and Dodô and Osmar and the the *trio* phenomenon was featured in the February 1974 and February 1975 issues. ACM may also have known that Osmar was employed by the construction firm Odebrecht, which counted among its founders ACM's son-in-law César de Araújo Mata Pires; Odebrecht, it is alleged, illicitly provided ACM funding to purchase the *Correio* in 1979 in return for his awarding the firm large public works projects including reforms to Salvador's airport, constructing the city's modernist Administrative Center, and building the Castro Alves Theater, where Osmar had been injured while working as a foreman.²⁸

In addition, the larger political situation in 1974 as Magalhães was finishing his term as governor was also a significant element. State elections that year had led to losses for the official opposition MDB (Brazilian Democratic Movement) party, a surprising blow to the Bahian left which resulted in new organizational activity among artists, professors, the church, and students on the more progressive side of the MDB, which identified itself as a nucleus of the Brazilian Communist Party within the Democratic Party.²⁹ The vote for the military regime in Bahia contrasted with many other urban centers in Brazil where the opposition party won strong gains.³⁰ Stinging from the

²⁸ "Um jeito malvadeza de ser," *Isto É*, 1556, 28 July 1999.

²⁹ Maria Victoria Espiñeira, "A resposta da Bahia à repressão militar: A ação partidária da Ala Jovem do MDB e a militância civil do trabalho conjunto da cidade de Salvador," in *Ditadura Militar na Bahia*, 215-240.

³⁰ Thomas E. Skidmore & Peter H. Smith, *Modern Latin America*, 6th edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 173.

elections, which ostensibly demonstrated the alienation of the Bahian public, this assemblage created a task force to raise consciousness against the dictatorship, focusing especially on political education in Salvador's swiftly expanding poor suburbs and Afro-Bahian communities by networking through churches sympathetic to Liberation Theology. Their slogan was "Democratic Liberties and Better Living Conditions."³¹ This was potentially embarrassing to Magalhães, if it grew, with the vaguest but perceptible chance to foment an actual revolutionary threat.

A deal was struck; the state would help fund the *trio*, and in exchange ACM asked them to record a song for him—a political jingle in their characteristic electric *frevo* style. ACM's part in the arrangement undoubtedly related to the controversial election, and the resulting effort by leftists to stir protest and discord against the regime in so-called peripheral neighborhoods where many of the poorer carnival revelers lived, among whom the free *trios* were very popular forms of entertainment. It could be useful for the state government to have the gratitude and implied endorsement of the famous *trio* founders, who were the focus of upcoming carnival, and who now featured a couple of genuine celebrity musicians: Moraes and Arandinho, who, with all their long-hair and rock-music trappings, might have strong appeal to and influence on other young people. The *trio* members and their families were invited on 23 January 1975 to an official ceremony at the governor's mansion, where Magalhães handed them a check for the first installment of funds (from the public coffers) to participate in carnival "out of recognition of the dedication of the *trio elétrico* to the development of tourism in Bahia."³²

³¹ Espiñeira, "A resposta da Bahia à repressão militar," 216.

³² "Governo garante a participação do trio elétrico no carnaval da Bahia," *Diário Oficial do Estado da Bahia*, 24 January 1975.



Figure 7: ACM saves the farm, with Dodô (left) and Osmar (center). Source: Diário Oficial do Estado da Bahia, 24 January 1975.

Dodô and Osmar presented Magalhães with a copy of their brand-new LP. And later that same day, the musicians boarded a plane for São Paulo to record “A Bahia Vai Bem (Bahia’s Doing Great).” The lyrics were these:

Bahia’s doing great,
How are you, my good old friend
Bahia’s doing fine,
Thanks to you.
It’s the state that grows fastest,
Our country’s prettiest scenery.
Working hard, with love, singing,
Bahian people are a happy people
Bahia’s doing great.

This situation demonstrates the fact that unlike in Rio de Janeiro or Recife, the most notable forms of “state power” in Salvador’s period carnival culture were found less in strict regulation than in the soft power of personal relationships. As with many instances of ACM’s personal interventions with popular culture in Bahia, including perhaps most famously his involvement with the still-struggling *afoxé* Filhos de Gandhi during his second appointment as governor—his official recognition of them in 1980, and his granting of a building in Pelourinho to them in 1983 to use as a headquarters³³ (the

³³ In her study of Filhos de Gandhi, Morales argues that this was a form of co-optation intended to secure the votes of the *afoxé* and its supporters (“Etnicidade e Mobilização Cultural Negra em Salvador,” masters thesis, Federal University of Bahia, 1990, 116). While a *quid pro quo* was likely part of the calculation, the move also makes sense as a relatively inexpensive gesture of support for a key symbol of Salvador’s carnival diversity that was in decline. That Gilberto Gil, a high-profile Afro-Bahian musician, had been

grateful *afoxé* made him a “godfather” or symbolic protector of the group in return³⁴)—many details are obscure in the record. In the cases of the *trio* and the *afoxé*, it might be argued that his intervention provided critical support to at-risk carnival groups when no other entity would or could. Government involvement also brought the groups a form of institutional endorsement, including the state Cultural Foundation subsidizing the *afoxé*’s debut LP that year (a gesture of endorsement repeated in kind when Filhos de Gandhi hung a portrait of ACM on the wall of the headquarters, and named their art gallery after ACM’s mother.)³⁵ At least by 1979, Filhos de Gandhi was charging its members an annual fee of 600 *cruzeiros* and a carnival costume charge of 400 *cruzeiros*, and it permitted non-members to parade with them at carnival for 1,500 *cruzeiros*.³⁶ If financial problems were dooming the *afoxé*, this revenue must not have been meeting their administrative needs, or membership was down, or perhaps the funds were being misdirected. A headquarters was useful but represented more symbolic than material value, since the group would still have to fundraise and recruit (but that would be easier with their new prestige).³⁷

Whatever the case, the authorship of “A Bahia Vai Bem” is widely attributed to Bahian musicians Ederaldo Gentil (1943-2012) and Batatinha (Oscar da Penha, 1924-

involved in the effort to “rescue” Filhos de Gandhi would have made it harder for the government to ignore. And by placing their headquarters in the Pelourinho neighborhood, an area ACM wanted to restore as a tourist attraction, the new headquarters might serve as a sort of seed for new activity and development.

³⁴ Outside of carnival, but in the same time period, Jocélio Teles dos Santos (*O Poder da Cultura e a Cultura no Poder*, 144-167) describes how in 1972 Magalhães began publicly dismantling old legislation permitting the repression of *candomblé* in Bahia, in the process of granting full legal recognition to the religious practice; and how, in March 1975, “dozens of *filhas e mães-de-santo* paraded to the governor’s palace in Ondina “to thank the governor for his support in the preservation of African religions in Bahia.”

³⁵ “Afoxé Filhos de Gandhi ganha sua sede própria,” *A Tarde* (Salvador), 08 February 1983.

³⁶ “Afoxé já foi perseguido. Hoje só corre atrás quem não quer perder seu desfile.” Those amounts were reported by the group’s president.

³⁷ Another theory for their waning presence in carnival in the mid-late 1970s was that the city required *afoxés* to parade on the Monday of carnival—which for them was prohibited as it was a holy day dedicated to Egun, spirit of the dead. “Respeito a Egun acabou afoxé Filho de Gandhi,” *Diário de Notícias*, 21 February 1974. How and whether that factor changed was beyond the purview of my research.

1997), both important figures in Salvador's once-vibrant samba scene of the 1960s and 1970s.³⁸ But its date of composition is unclear. Oral history in Salvador and some unsourced Internet references suggest it dates to 1968 or 1969 and that it was composed on order for a publicity campaign for Magalhães, then serving as the military regime's appointed mayor of Salvador. It seems to have been recorded by one of its composers only later, in 1976, a year after Dodô and Osmar's recording, when it appeared on Ederaldo Gentil's *Pequenino* in Rio-style samba form (with characteristic samba chorale and percussion, including the yelp of the *cuica* friction drum).³⁹ The statement of Dodô and Osmar to the press was ambiguous, suggesting both that they have devised their own “trio-eletrecizado” arrangement of a pre-existing piece; but also that “The people are going to go crazy with the lyrics, which are rhythmic and easy to learn,” which seems to indicate they thought the song would be totally new to their listeners.⁴⁰

In terms of representations of local identity for both outsiders and local residents, the jingle, which reportedly played on the radio “constantly” for the next couple of years and was embraced by the public,⁴¹ had both immediate and more subtle linkages. First, it was part of a recently initiated tourism campaign whose seeds had been planted through the appearance of the slogan “Bahia Vai Bem” in the state tourism magazine *ViverBahia* starting in May 1974.⁴² The connection between “Bahia's doing great” and Bahia's new

³⁸ Gentil became a highly in-demand composer for Salvador's samba schools by the late 1960s. Batatinha was a regular figure in the bohemian bars of the Pelourinho district where he lived, and attracted the attention of Rio-based musicians Maria Bethânia and Paulinho da Viola.

³⁹ Ederaldo Gentil, *Pequenino* (Chantecler, 2.08.404.074), 1976.

⁴⁰ “Governo garante a participação do trio elétrico no carnaval da Bahia.”

⁴¹ Aroldo Macedo, personal communication, 09 January 2012, Salvador, Bahia.

⁴² In issue #7, May 1974, the inner front cover carries an advertisement for tourist services at the Administration Center of Bahia featuring a photograph of smiling, clean-cut young adults, with the lines “Visit the Center. After all, this is just one more reason why Bahia's doing great. This team waits for you at reception in the headquarters of the Secretary of Planning, every weekend. Bahia's doing great, thanks to

electric carnival was expanded in the February 1974 issue, with a two-page feature on the *trio* stating “What sets Bahian carnival apart from that of other states is the *trio elétrico*, a strange, unique wheeled sound machine... Its composition and musical diversity embody the Bahian way, which is to assimilate and transform the most diverse source materials, being at once eclectic and synthetic.”⁴³ And all this presaged a later tourism marketing campaign, *Bahia: Brasil Nasceu Aqui*, referring both to Portuguese explorer Pedro Álvares Cabral’s landing in Porto Seguro (south of Salvador) in 1500, and to a local openness to racial and cultural mixture that was claimed in the 1920s modernist movement to be a prototypical aspect of Brazilian character—thus implying that Bahian hybridization embodied not stale traditionalism but modernity, progress and innovation.⁴⁴ Second, the themes and tone of the jingle also characterize the song Dodô and Osmar had written for their anniversary, “Julileu de Prata.” The lyrics of that song combine documentary images of carnival with an interpretation of the festival’s “popular” significance: “Cascades of lights, explosion of happiness, multitudes in revelry... From the cord to the fuse, Electrified *frevo*, the craziness of the *Trio* in the carnival of Bahia... It’s the only place in the world where you can have fun without spending money, You only have to be alive, when the *Trio* of Dodô and Osmar passes by.” The song appears to take the motifs of the jingle’s boosterism—local pride, a culture of social harmony and festive contentment, Bahian uniqueness—and reset them, concentrating them into the

you.” Beyond its touristic appeal to service and convenience, the concept of the marketing may have been intended to appear reassuring during a period of heightened political tension.

⁴³ “Atrás do Trio,” *ViverBahia* ano 1 #4 February 1974, pp. 6-7.

⁴⁴ This was developed for Brazil’s 500-year anniversary of discovery in 2000. Magalhães, then in the National Congress, wrote a passage in the state’s commemorative book linking history, identity, and tourism: “Brazil was born in Bahia and this state has not forgotten to celebrate its history, which is the genesis of our nationality. The work made along the Discovery Coast is part of a strategic plan of cultural, touristic, and economic development which I have idealized and supported...” *Bahia, O Brasil Nasceu Aqui* (São Paulo: Omar G., 2000), 16.

milieu of carnival, although the *trio*'s song was recorded just prior to the jingle. And for the first time, in 1975 carnival, a singer would be aboard a *trio elétrico* to lead the masses in singing along about the happiness of the moment. The *trio* had a repertoire of their own, which included a political jingle.

This was a fortuitous phenomenon, not the result of calculated cooperation among the principal actors or songwriters (especially not if “A Bahia Vai Bem” had been written seven years earlier), but it reveals the confluence of wider desires and strategies at the time. Between official state tourism concerns and the founders of the *trio elétrico*, there was at this moment a shared urge to get word to people outside Bahia about the state's unique attractions, taking advantage of an opportunity linking carnival as a dynamic tourist attraction with the original *trio* newly recording its own music with a singer to help get messages across. There was a textual sense of an “other” who might be inside Bahia, or might be outside the state, but an “other” who needed to hear of the good things happening in Salvador, of which carnival was representative.

The advent of lyrics in this carnival music were fundamental. The *trio elétrico* Tapajós had made five appearances on vinyl before Dodô and Osmar's record was released, but the music was instrumental; a microphone was on their *trio* but only used for announcements when the band was not playing. Rendering a voice audible over the amplified din of the string instruments presented a serious technical problem. It was possible in the studio, however, and Dodô and Osmar were the first *trio* to record Salvador's new carnival music with a singer, even if only several songs on the first record featured lyrics. And a new strategy was born—not recording this year's carnival as a document of an event, as the 1972 Tapajós *Caetanave* record was, but recording songs in

the studio and releasing them prior to carnival so the public would recognize the original songs the *trio* performed. Ironically, of course, the Trio Elétrico Dodô & Osmar released both an LP of carnival music and a carnivalesque political jingle for audiences to learn, and sing and revel along with. But this was not too different from businesses who created *trios* and relied on public familiarity with the jingles to sing along during carnival.

The development of a singer aboard the *trio elétrico* (which was four years after the widespread and enduring adoption by *trios* of stationing dancing girls aboard the vehicles⁴⁵) would be immediately influential and copied, once again, by others in Salvador's carnival because it exponentially increased the possibilities for interacting with audiences while making the format of the "carnival ensemble" more similar to that of a pop-music band familiar to younger audiences. But during the silver anniversary festival, Dodô and Osmar's *trio* actually did not have a very notable vocal presence. The microphone on the *trio* itself was still connected to the same speakers the string instruments used, leading to feedback (the shrieking accoustical phenomenon Dodô labored to eliminate from his first electric instruments in the 1940s). Moreira was eager to sing, especially the new songs that many in the crowd recognized, but it was only sporadically possible. The first truly audible vocalist on a *trio* appeared during carnival that year, but it was on *trio* of the Novos Baianos, Moreira's previous band. On the Friday night of carnival the founding *trio* musicians joined that band on stage during their show in the Graça neighborhood,⁴⁶ when the Novos Baianos heard Moreira singing the

⁴⁵ "No trio elétrico de Dodô e Osmar," *Tribuna da Bahia*, 12 February 1976. The dancing girls would become celebrities in their own right alongside the musicians, with television appearances, endorsement contracts, fan clubs, and, in the case of Sheila Mello in 1998—from São Paulo, she beat out around 2,500 competitors in a national audition to be the official blonde dancer of Bahian *pagode* band É o Tchan—a spread in Brazilian *Playboy* magazine (*Playboy Brasil*, November 1998).

⁴⁶ "Parabéns para Dodô e Osmar."

LP songs onstage with the full *trio* band with good audio quality, they decided to simply shift their vocal audio apparatus from the stage to their own *trio* for the carnival parade.⁴⁷ That was the final step needed, and the idea of having a dedicated, separate vocal amplification setup was soon widely copied by all the *trios*.

The Trio Elétrico Dodô and Osmar recorded another jingle in 1980-1 that once again linked happy place boosting and carnivalesque freedoms with a hovering but unnamed political presence. This time, it was “Let Your Heart be Your Guide (Deixe o Coração Mandar),” by Bahian composer Walter Queroz Junior for mayor Mário Kertész.

Allow your heart to shine
Like the bright lights of Bonfim.
Axé, axé
In this beautiful land,
Our faith is our strength.
Feel the summer, look to the sky,
Take a deep breath, remove your hat,
Allow your heart to beat in the child that you are.
It’s one party after another in the streets of pleasure.
Sound the *atabaque* and the *agogô*⁴⁸
There is so much delight in Salvador.
It’s all worth it to be happy, and to believe.
Allow, allow, it’s good to allow,
Allow your heart to be your guide.

Kertész had been an acolyte of Magalhães, serving under him in the early 1970s as the state’s Secretary of Planning, Science, and Technology, later as ACM’s cabinet chief, and he was appointed mayor of Salvador by ACM to serve from 1979 through 1981. Ironically, he would turn against the military regime just before Magalhães did, converting to a pro-democracy party, the PMDB (Brazilian Democratic Movement Party), in 1982. But during his tenure as appointed mayor, he arranged for the

⁴⁷ *Caminhão da Alegria – 60 Anos de Trio Elétrico*.

⁴⁸ Traditional instruments associated with Afro-Bahian *candomblé*, the *atabaque* is a conical hand drum and *agogô* is a pair of metal bells struck with a rod.

composition and recording of this jingle for city hall, which linked mysticism, personal liberty, festivity, happiness, and specific local references with the characteristic sound of the founders of the *trio elétrico*. (In what seems to be a canny awareness of local radio market segmentation by genre, Kertész released the song on a 45 rpm single with two formats: the *trio's frevo* version on one side, and a samba-march version on the other.)⁴⁹ The jingle posits a special, unique location, where good weather, attractive scenery, and diverse coexisting festival cultures naturally lead to a state of happiness and gratification, if only one can transcend quotidian concerns to indulge one's instinctual feelings. The line "our faith is our strength" is both an affirmation of local identity, rooted in associations with *candomblé*, and an articulation of the fact that many residents find respite from poverty in religion, including the associated religious festivals.⁵⁰

Even more than "A Bahia Vai Bem," this jingle carefully obscures the political presence from the happy world it creates, even though its very origin was a political project. As an increasingly unpopular dictatorship was ending, this approach was flattering both to politicians who knew they needed to not appear overweening, and to "the people" themselves who had been dealing for years with unwanted official interference. At the same time, its descriptions are even more florid and appealing to the senses than in the earlier jingle; it presents not inspiring concepts or facts but sensations—the state's "growth" is not an issue here, nor are the locals depicted as

⁴⁹ I thank Aroldo Macedo for showing me his copy of this record.

⁵⁰ Jorge Amado, when still associated with the Communist party, had written that "The city of Bahia is multiple, and unequal. The picturesque lives alongside pain... The beauty of this mysterious city has an inseparable companion in hunger, in misery. The city is a party, and it is a funeral." On the existence of many diverse popular festivals, he wrote "They are all full of these colorful people, with an innate happiness so resistant that it transcends the poverty in which they live. A strong people that hunger cannot keep down." *Bahia de Todos os Santos*, 16-18, 145.

“working” at all but as celebrating and indulging in individual ways through nonstop festivals on the “streets of pleasure.”

After 1975, Moreira moved back to Rio de Janeiro, and although he would continue to perform and record with the *trio* of Dodô and Osmar, his own solo material would feature numerous songs rooted in the sounds and themes of Salvador’s carnival. Indeed, it was his many performances as a solo artist around Brazil in the late 1970s that helped give audiences a fuller taste of Salvador’s new sound. And although in later years he would regularly request support from Salvador’s tourism agency for his independent *trio*, he was also firmly established enough as a successful artist outside the milieu of Bahian politics that in 1997 he could release a song appealing directly to Salvador’s new mayor to restore some of the spontaneity and diversity of carnival culture. Making a pun out of the verb *desembaçar*, to clear up, unclog, or straighten out, and the mayor’s name Imbassahy, he got “*Desembassahy*” and sang: “Clear it out there, Imbassahy / Open up our carnival / The people need back in / They can’t live at the margins / They are not marginal.”⁵¹ Moraes later explained that he was responding to the “meteoric ascension” of *axé music* in Brazil, and the response by Salvador’s carnival cultural industry to produce more and more of it. “Quantity mattered more than quality... Business investments were what drove it, with zero cultural preoccupations. And this was reflected in carnival, which was clearly by this time no longer the people’s.”⁵²

The next section relates Salvador’s new musical identity with the rise of *axé music* from the traditional identity of a Bahia sung about from far away, in Rio de Janeiro, to the incorporation of lyrics into the *trio elétrico* and the influence of the

⁵¹ Moraes Moreira, “Desembaça aí,” on Moraes Moreira, *50 Carnavais* (Virgin Brasil / EMI, 1997).

⁵² “*A festa já não era mais do povo.*” Moreira, *Sonhos Elétricos*, 138-9.

rhythms of the *blocos afro*. It also explains how this process impacted the profile of the *trio elétrico* founders—like the new business models of carnival, or the founders’ affiliation with a polarizing politician, the way Salvador’s musicians and entrepreneurs developed this popular-carnival genre as a marker of local, national, and global identity and has tended to cast the legacy of Dodô and Osmar as one of antiquated regionalism.

The “Place” of Salvador da Bahia in Popular Music Recordings

In a study of images of the city of Salvador in Brazilian popular song, David quotes local public historian Cid Teixeira to the effect that, in the nineteenth century, “Bahia was a cultural island that made and consumed its own cultural production.”⁵³ For her, this all changed with Brazil’s first phonograph studio in 1902, installed in Rio de Janeiro: “It was possible to transform diverse, individual songs about Bahia into a systematic repertoire... The phonographic industry helped to divulge musical themes linked to Bahia, and also served to raise Bahian musicians to national prominence.” This was obviously the necessary first step, and it did not hurt that the first record made in Brazil, in 1902, was sung by a Bahian: Manoel Pedro dos Santos or “Baiano,” and the song, “Isto é Bom,” was written by another Bahian, Xisto Bahia.⁵⁴ It did not speak of Bahia. That Bahian migrants participated in Rio’s music scene was noted in the previous chapter. But David’s sweeping account of the establishment of Brazil’s recording industry in the twentieth century and its role in Bahian identity conflates the recording of songs about Bahia that had been composed in the metropolis of Rio de Janeiro with the later musical articulations of Bahian identity from Bahian musicians living within Bahia

⁵³ Maria Lenilda Carneiro S. David, “São Salvador da Bahia: Imagens e Canção Popular,” in *Identidades e Representações na Cultura Brasileira*, Rita Olivieri-Godet & Lícia Soares de Souza, eds. (João Pessoa: Idéia, 2001), 180. The first phonograph in Brazil was brought by Fred Figner, a Bohemian Jew, to Rio de Janeiro in 1891; he founded the studio / label Casa Edison in 1902.

⁵⁴ Luiz Américo Lisboa Junior, *A Presença da Bahia na Música Popular Brasileira*, 19-20.

itself. By the 1980s, technological advances in the “peripheral” state of Bahia allowed music recorded there by Bahian musicians to circulate. It began to be embraced by a nation of listeners and consumers accustomed to hearing the city and state sung about from the perspective of artists (Bahian or not) living in the nation’s southeast.

Perhaps the first song recorded in the southeast to render subjectivity back to the city of Salvador, with lyrics from its perspective, was the 1950 hit by Chianca de Garcia and Herivelto Martins, “A Bahia te Espera (Bahia Waits for You):” “If you come / You can try my *vatapá* / If you come to live in my arms / You will see the Iemanjá festival / Come, come come / In search of Bahia / City of temptation... / Come, Bahia awaits you.”⁵⁵ But the recordings of Veloso, followed several years later by those of the Trio Elétrico Dodô and Osmar, both the LP and the jingle—even though they were all still recorded in the southeast—were definite indicators of the cultural shift that was bringing a voice back to Bahia. Ultimately, within Salvador itself, a critical aspect of this was the spread of technology in the 1950s, including both radio broadcasting and the associated technologies of recording (microphones, recording media, et cetera). As the most developed and populous urban centers in Brazil, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo had long been the places for musicians to go to get their music recorded, and where the broader culture industries flourished. Salvador’s first recording studio was started in 1959 by Jorge Santos, and seems to have closed in the early 1970s. Santos had started working in the studio environment as a pianist for Rádio Excelsior in 1945, became an ad-man, and eventually opened a publicity agency that by 1959 had a studio intended for jingles,

⁵⁵ “A Bahia te Espera” was quickly recorded by the Trio de Ouro, but its most popular version seems to be the 1963 recording featuring vocalist Dalva de Oliveira.

commercials, and the city's official carnival songs. He soon branched into popular music in 1961. That year or the next, he also added a record label, JS Discos.⁵⁶

Some of Gilberto Gil's first recorded work was captured at this studio, and other notable local musicians such as Carlos Lacerda (often called "the governor of the keyboard") and Batatinha also recorded there. Santos's studio provided a key early site for Bahian carnival composers to make recordings for the local event, and the local radio and consumer outlet circuits, that could compete with products from Rio de Janeiro. This could be interpreted as providing a sort of incipient bulwark against the hegemony of Rio's carnival that was troubling some carnival observers in Recife in the same period; in 1971 a Salvador journalist noted, "The works of Bahian composers are being avidly pursued in the city's stores this carnival season. In contrary to previous years, Bahian-made songs are selling quite well; but even still, the invasion of carnival music from Rio de Janeiro is considerable and many people wind up buying the *carioca* songs."⁵⁷

But other projects Santos undertook in those early years in Salvador would also have wideranging repercussions.⁵⁸ Consider two instances: First, a compilation of local Afro-Bahian culture entitled *Sambas de Roda e Candomblés da Bahia* (early 196?) was

⁵⁶ Marcelo Fróes, liner notes to the CD *Gilberto Gil: Salvador, 1962-3* (Warner Arquivos 092747212-2), originally recorded in 1962 and 1963 at JS. Luiz Americo Lisboa Junior, in *A Presença da Bahia na Música Popular Brasileira*, refers to another presumably local label, called Bahia (its logo featured an image of the city's iconic Lacerda Elator); he can only date it to the early 1960s, and writes that it produced few records, including a song called "Colar de Ouro" in 1962.

⁵⁷ "Autores locais já têm vez no carnaval baiano," *Diário de Notícias*, 18 February 1971.

⁵⁸ The history of JS Records remains a tantalizing if yet still not fully written chapter in the development of Salvador's popular and mass culture in the recent modern period. There are diverse efforts underway in Brazil, but sources (including the actual records themselves) are scarce, and Santos died in August 2010. Various contributions to an understanding of the JS enterprise and its importance are in Roberto Torres, "A descoberta sideral de Baden e Vinicius" (*A Tarde* [Salvador], 06 December 2003); Ayêska Paulafreitas, "Trajetória da Indústria Fonográfica na Bahia (paper presented at the XXX Congresso Brasileiro de Ciências da Comunicação, Santos, 29 August – 02 September 2007); "Gravadora JS: Capítulo importante do desenvolvimento da Música Baiana" on the historical Internet blog *Linha do Tempo da Invenção Musical*, <http://tempomusica.blogspot.com/2010/07/gravadora-js-capitulo-importante-no.html> (accessed 19 March 2012); Antonio Jorge V. dos Santos Godi, "Música afro-carnavalesca: Das multidões para o sucesso das massas elétricas," in Sansone & Teles dos Santos, eds., *Ritmos em Trânsito*.

soon picked up by prominent young guitarist Baden Powell, who was visiting Bahia from Rio for inspiration, and passed on to his musical partner at the time, the composer / poet / diplomat Vinícius de Moraes.⁵⁹ They reworked the album's themes, rhythms, and melodies for a full samba / jazz / Afro-Brazilian orchestra, and their 1966 release on Forma, *Os Afro Sambas*, drew critical acclaim. Second, JS Records was the site where one of the most distinctive vocal groups in Brazil, later known as the Quarteto em Cy ("C" Quartet) made their first audio recordings, initially as a duo of two sisters from the small town of Ibirataia who recorded jingles for Santos (and appeared on what became a local hit for Gil, "Bem Devagar," the first 78rpm of JS Records). By 1965 they had grown to a quartet, and often performed in Rio's theater and club circuit, with occasional television appearances; there they attracted the attention of U.S.-based Warner Records and Disney Company lyricist / talent scout Ray Gilbert (1912-1976), who was signing Dorival Caymmi to a record deal. That record, *Caymmi and the Girls from Bahia*,⁶⁰ was recorded in Hollywood and attempted to make Caymmi a success among American record buyers on the model of Warner's earlier release featuring Antônio Carlos Jobim.⁶¹

JS Studio played an important role in these developments. But the studio closed in the early 1970s, perhaps due to complaints that Santos was not paying the proper royalty fees to the Order of Musicians for his records—a grey area in legal responsibility, since much of the material he recorded (such as the influential *Sambas de Roda* LP) were

⁵⁹ Moraes is known for, among other things, numerous influential collaborations with *bossa nova* composer Antonio Carlos Jobim starting in 1958, and including the soundtrack to the multinational film production of *Black Orpheus* (itself based on a play Moraes wrote) in 1959.

⁶⁰ *RioCali* / Warner 1614 (1965); arranged by Bill Hitchcock; produced by Sonny Burke, Louis Oliveira and Ray Gilbert.

⁶¹ *The Wonderful World of Antonio Carlos Jobim*, WS 1611 (Warner Bros. Records, 1965). Caymmi's crossover album was a one-off. Reprise label would have better fortune with its 1967 pairing of Frank Sinatra and Antônio Carlos Jobim, which suggested that the pairing of a Brazilian artist with a local mediator, fluent in English, was a better formula.

generally considered folklore and therefore in the public domain. And most of the city's artists with national aspirations eventually went to Rio or São Paulo anyway, but that was about to change. Salvador attained its next popular-music recording studio just a few years later, at a critical time in the rise of Bahian carnival music. Studio WR was founded by Wesley Rangel in 1975, headquartered in the *A Tarde* building and initially devoted to political and commercial jingles for radio and television. Its expansion to local popular music came in 1980, in response to growing opportunities in that area. With a move to its own building and boasting a then-impressive 16-channel recording capacity (boosted to 24 channels by 1987), it would be central to the local development and national rise of *axé music*. Its growth both reflected and facilitated the local scene's expansion to nation attention. Still in operation today, with all the latest digital technology, it is far more famous than its predecessor.⁶² The studio's Web site⁶³ lists some of the top local groups who recorded there, from *blocos afro* such as Olodum, Muzenza and Ilê Aiyê to *trio* bands and stars including Reflexús, Daniela Mercury, Luiz Caldas, Carlinhos Brown, and Netinho—and even international artist Paul Simon, who sought the “Bahian sound” there for his Afro-Brazilian inflected 1990 Warner recording *The Rhythm of the Saints*.⁶⁴

The change in where Salvador's music was recorded indicated a shift in the center of cultural gravity, away from Brazil's traditional metropolitan centers to a rising periphery fueled by a new carnival culture and a cohering carnival economy. As we will see, though, this music differed little in terms of lyrical constructions of identity from the

⁶² The studio's link with local music production is the focus of Godi's “Música afro-carnavalesca,” in Sansone & Teles dos Santos, eds., *Ritmos em Trânsito*. He stresses the importance of the studio as a place of technical training, where a few specialists in music and recording technology helped transfer professional skills to a large number of both recording and live sound technicians, and musicians (87).

⁶³ WR Bahia, <http://www.wrbahia.com.br/quemgravou.html> (accessed 19 December 2011).

⁶⁴ Warner Bros. 9 26098-2, 1990.

model laid down by the Trio Elétrico Dodô and Osmar—but it reconfigured the music and instrumentation itself away from *frevo* and references to Pernambuco in order to place Salvador at the center of Brazil, the African Diaspora, and ultimately the whole world through incorporating techno, hip-hop, and foreign DJs. But if it shared some of the idealism of the locale that marked the music produced earlier in faraway Rio and São Paulo, this also would have different symbolic and practical effects due to the confluence of broader interests around tourism.

Generalizations regarding the articulation of Bahian identity in popular Brazilian music from the 1920s through the 1960s should be drawn cautiously. Certainly, some general themes—Salvador’s lively festival culture, Bahian women as sensuous and attractive, or the richness of Afro-Bahian tradition and the city’s spiritual life—are shared with the later, locally produced music styles emerging from the carnival industry. Given that, what is of more use here than a catalog of lyrics of songs recorded in Rio about Salvador is to assess the approach the writers took toward their subject. Two dimensions are notable. First, there is typically a quality of distance in positing Bahia as a sort of mythical, nostalgic place that is far away from the singer. This might pay homage to the formative role played by turn-of-the-century Bahians and their *samba de roda* in helping create Rio’s samba in the *favelas*, the tenements around Praça Onze, and the clubs of the nation’s capital. One might want to go see Bahia for oneself,⁶⁵ because others have spoken of it.⁶⁶ One might be persuading someone who has not seen it to go there,⁶⁷ or one

⁶⁵ Raul Sampaio, “Eu Também Quero (I Also Want),” 1951: “I also want to see Bahia / The old Bahia of Saint Salvador / I want to know the *baianas* / And their lace skirts / I want to try *vatapá*... I want to see the beautiful palm trees / And try to live in peace.”

⁶⁶ Roberto Roberti & Arlindo Marques Júnior, “Falaram Tanto da Bahia (They Talked So Much About Bahia),” 1949: “Bahia, Bahia / They talked so much about Bahia / That I decided to go myself... / Bahia, Bahia / Where Brazil learned to pray / I swear to you, Bahia / I’m not from Bahia / but my son will be.”

might want to return there for a lost love—which often connotes a sense of innocence, contentment and tradition lost to the dislocations of modernity.⁶⁸ That would include the waves of northeastern migrants to Rio and São Paulo due to droughts and socioeconomic shifts—a phenomenon that also explicitly frames some songs about Bahia.⁶⁹

Second, many songs were built on a documentary approach to details of Bahian culture that, as if to ground the texts' authenticity and objectivity, often devolved into compilations of names of local beaches, typical foods, and even specific recipes.⁷⁰ Dorival Caymmi's breakthrough hit as sung by Carmen Miranda, 1939's "O Que é Que a Baiana Tem (What does a Baiana Have?)" is clearly based on this model of conveying authenticity through providing lists of specific details—a manner of both portraying and defusing the exotic. But beyond "popular" music as a defined market segment, Bahia (Salvador) also appeared on a range of other records whose methods were similarly documentary, in the vein of presenting ostensible "folklore" or actual field recordings

⁶⁷ Dorival Caymmi, "Você Já Foi à Bahia (Have You Ever Been to Bahia)," 1941: "Have you ever been to Bahia, my dear? No? Well then go! / Whoever sees Bonfim, my dear, never wants to return / Such good fortune they had, they have, and will have!... Bahia has a way about it / That no other place has." This song was sung by amiable *carioca* parrot Joe Carioca to Donald Duck in the Walt Disney Good-Neighbor film *Saludos Amigos* (1942).

⁶⁸ Although Dorival Caymmi's "Saudade da Bahia" (1957) is the best-known song of the genre, it was hardly the first. Atílio Grany wrote a song by that name much earlier: "Saudade da Bahia (Longing for Bahia)," 1931: "Maria, Maria / Oh, how I miss Bahia / I have the longing in my heart / Take me away if I don't go / To see my own people / And stay in Salvador... / I am a son of Bonfim." See also Nelson Vaz, "Adeus da Bahia (Farewell Bahia)," 1938: "Farewell, I must leave Bahia / Perhaps never to return / But I have faith, in my Senhor do Bonfim / That, just as I left / I may go back one day." And Jair Gonçalves, again with "Saudade da Bahia" (1951): "I will return to Bahia / To ease the longing we all have felt... / Bahia! It has innumerable charms / Bahia, the pride of Brazil."

⁶⁹ These songs emerged a bit later than the other examples, and reflect how Rio de Janeiro was attracting more and more migrants; now Bahia was being sung about not by Bahians, or *cariocas*, but by people who visited it on the long way to Rio. For example, Gilvan Chaves (Pernambuco), "Fiquei na Bahia (I Passed Through Bahia)," 1958: "I left the North on the back of a truck [*pau de arara*] / Heading towards Rio de Janeiro / We went through Bahia, and I liked it / I enjoyed, enjoyed, enjoyed it / I smelled the palm oil... / and saw the *baianas* dancing samba."

⁷⁰ For example: Ary Barroso, "No Tabuleiro da Baiana (On the Baiana's Tray)," 1936: "What's on the baiana's tray? / Vatapá, caruru mungunzá, oh, and there's umbu." Other predecessors include songs about Bahian couscous (Pedro de Sá Pereira, "Cuscus," 1928), coconut sweets (Gastão Viana, "Que Doce é Esse?" 1933) and Salvador's street food in general including spiced fish (Roberto Martins and Waldemar Silva, "Compra Iôio," 1935).

from the city in an educational context, with ample explanatory liner notes. The city's renowned religious diversity was represented, from Afro-Brazilian *candomblé* (with notes from a member of the Bahian Folklore Commission)⁷¹ to portrayals of the harmonious miscegenation of *candomblé* and Christian cultures.⁷² In a similarly inventive vein, Afro-Bahian instruments were placed alongside a chorale,⁷³ or isolated, their repertoire explored and expanded to create a stylized portrayal of tradition.⁷⁴

Another subset of recordings more explicitly balanced claims to cultural veracity with touristic motives. *Capoeira* has become a consumer industry unto itself in Salvador, with specialized clothes, shoes, instruments, videos, books, and magazines, but this commodity phenomenon began with records. In 1969, JS Records captured Salvador's Mestre Bimba, creator of the *capoeira regional* version of *capoeira*, performing seven characteristic *toques* (rhythms) on the *berimbau* as well as two other more improvisatory works.⁷⁵ That same year, Salvador's Mestre Pastinha—who argued

⁷¹ *Candomblé da Bahia: Toques, Cantos e Saudação aos Orixás* Nação Ketu com Luiz da Muriçoca (Continental / MusiColor, 1-04-405-017, 1968). The notes by Claudio Tavares assure listeners that *pai de santo* Luís da Muriçoca has running “in his veins the best of the tradition of the golden era” of *candomblés*, referring back to Gantois and the Afro-Brazilian Congresses of the 1930s. The album was recorded on site at the *terreiro* of Muriçoca.

⁷² *Missa do Morro e Cantigas da Boa Terra (Sabbath of the Slums, and Chants from the Good Land)*, first performed in Salvador's São Bento Monastery in 1965, recorded in the Teatro Castro Alves (Philips / Coleção Pesquisas da Musica Brasileira, R 765 083 L, 1969).

⁷³ *Camafeu de Oxossi (Solista de Berimbau) Acompanhado por seu Conjunto de Berimbaus e Côro* (MusiColor LPK-20.108, 1967). This album, recorded at the studios of Rádio Sociedade, bears effusive notes from Jorge Amado; he called Camafeu (whose day job was working a souvenir stand at the touristic Mercado Modelo, and would be the president of Filhos de Gandhi in the late 1970s) “one of the most authentic of all Bahians, a guardian of the popular culture of our people. A man who embodies folklore, one of the few who preserves the past and constructs the future.” However, it was criticized by Brazilianist ethnomusicologist Gerard Behague, who noted that Camafeu's “self-financed recording” contains “several songs [created] in a highly stylized fashion, illustrating his own perception of what tourists' expectations might be.” Behague, “The Effects of Tourism on Afro-Bahian Traditional Music in Salvador, Bahia, Brazil (Come Mek Me Hol' Yu Han': The Impact of Tourism on Traditional Music, Jamaica Memory Bank, 1986).

⁷⁴ *Eu, Bahia: Atabaque e Berimbau* (Philips / Phonogram 6470 003, 1972). The record balances improvisations (the track called “Berimbau”) with ponderously specific titles (“Cambinda Queuaraquara: Rhythm asking licence to enter an Angola *terreiro*, played in the Angola rhythm”).

⁷⁵ The LP, now out on CD in various official and pirated forms, is a basic item of consumption for the national and international students of *capoeira regional* who make the pilgrimage to Salvador to study at

that *capoeira* was of African descent, not Bahian, as he learned the art from an African—released his own album on Polygram.⁷⁶ These records by the figureheads of the two preeminent schools of Brazilian *capoeira* set the precedent for more and more LPs and CDs, dedicated to tourists, practitioners, and scholars alike.⁷⁷ Salvador's official folklore troupe, Viva Bahia (the “Conjunto Folclórico da Bahia,” started by high school music teacher Emília Biancardi in 1962 and composed mostly of teenaged students), received state funding and promotion leading to two LP recordings in 1968 of their stage performances of stylized Afro-Bahian traditions both spiritual and ludic.⁷⁸ As they were recorded for the multinational Philips label, at least one of them was distributed in other countries, with different language and packaging.⁷⁹

Early mass-produced recordings of the *trio elétrico* before 1975 fell somewhere between the categories of field documentary and commercial carnival music. Liner notes to the 1972 *Caetanave* LP from Tapajós took an educational tone in explaining that the

the academy opened by Bimba's son Nenel in Salvador's Pelourinho district, Filhos de Bimba Escola de Capoeira (FBEC).

⁷⁶ *Mestre Pastinha e sua Academia: Capoeira Angola* (Polygram / Fontana, 6485 119, 1969).

⁷⁷ The Smithsonian Institution gave its imprimatur to *capoeira angola*, “the most traditional manifestation of this art form,” with the CD *Capoeira Angola from Salvador Brazil*, recorded live in 1994 (Smithsonian Folkways SF CD 40465, 1996; liner notes by C. Daniel Dawson, p. 4).

⁷⁸ The troupe's LPs, both recorded live in Salvador's Teatro Castro Alves, were *Viva Bahia!* (Philips P 632.917 L, 1968) and *Viva Bahia! no.2* (Philips P 632.923 L, 1968). State tourism magazine *ViverBahia* advertised their shows regularly in the 1970s, alongside smaller but thematically similar ones staged at the Folkloric Center. All these presentations helped consolidate the now-familiar performance suite of *capoeira*, *samba de roda*, *candomblé*, *puxada da rede* (“pulling the net,” derived from fishermen's culture) and the fighting dance *maculelê*. Any tourist in Salvador today will be able to watch some version of a show with these elements, and a current troupe, the Folkloric Ballet of Bahia, tours internationally. In 1973, Viva Bahia was praised by a local paper for “interpreting folklore in a stylized, choreographed way, that still preserves the true roots” (“Viva Bahia, atração até domingo, no TCA” [*Diário de Notícias*, 09 February 1973]). But Viva Bahia also drew critics, such as ethnomusicologist Gerard Behague, who lambasted its alleged cultural distortions and simplifications, obfuscations of race, and commercialism (“The Effects of Tourism on Afro-Bahian Traditional Music in Salvador, Bahia, Brazil”). He called it *Sempre Bahia*, “a fictitious name,” perhaps to keep his critiques from reaching the group too quickly.

⁷⁹ The first LP was released in France, on Philips's world music series *Voyages autour du monde*, simply as *Bahia* (Philips / Gravure Universelle 842.823, date?); and in the United States, with elaborate illustrations, notes, and translated lyrics, as *Viva Bahia!* (Philips PCC 629, date?). That record's cover declares “Songs, drums, and dances of Black Africa, Brazilian Indian, and Portuguese conquistador melded for four centuries to produce the Festival of Bahia!”

“*Trio elétrico* is a regional phenomenon typical to the carnival of Bahia, which is today, without a shadow of doubt, the biggest and greatest carnival in Brazil due to its direct access to popular participation.”⁸⁰ The inclusion by Marcos Pereira in 1973 of several songs from Tapajós on the LP *Música Popular do Nordeste vol. 1: Frevo*, the first of a 16-LP “musical map” of Brazil’s major regions, was a curious choice. With his self-financed but critically well-received series, Pereira, a São Paulo businessman and amateur record producer, hoped to fulfill the legacy of Mário de Andrade and showcase traditional forms of Brazilian popular music—those “marginalized and neglected at the expense of imported cultural material promoted by the multinational record companies that dominated the Brazilian music industry at the time.”⁸¹ But Tapajós was a lucrative business in 1973, with a catalog of LPs for sale; its pairing on the record with the Recife Municipal Band seems incongruous. Dodô and Osmar’s *trio*, a likelier choice, had not yet reorganized for its return to carnival. Pereira was interested in continuities in cultural expression (he preferred the term “popular,” avoiding “folklore”) from outside the media mainstream and the Rio-São Paulo axis. Tapajós provided this, and with their appearance he emphasized that Salvador’s electrified carnival music was a legitimate example of regional tradition. This vision—with all its ambiguities—was ratified in 1981 when Brazil’s National Arts Foundation (Funarte, founded 1975) simultaneously released the

⁸⁰ Trio Elétrico Tapajós, *Caetanave*.

⁸¹ Stroud, *The Defense of Tradition*, 143-156. Pereira’s stated objective was to “document, inform and entertain.” Pereira hoped to make this music accessible and interesting to a wide audience, not just specialists, since the mass audience was most susceptible to the destructive power of television and especially O Globo—whose marketing of *telenovela* soundtracks and imported music risked, he said, the “destruction of our national personality.” His leftist sympathies and criticisms of O Globo limited distribution of his records, given the political context of concern around the radical potential of the “folk,” and the Brazilian mass media’s general disinterest in what it viewed as antiquated traditions.

Trio Elétrico Dodô & Osmar's album *Incendiou o Brasil* that was available on a different label as part of a larger project to map Brazilian popular music.⁸²

Any remaining conceptual distance between Pereira's ostensibly "legitimate" documentary or educational framework and a commercial approach to presenting *trio*-based carnival music on record was closed with the release of a pair of records in 1986 and 1987 showcasing Bahian carnival. Recorded locally at WR Studio, and released on the multinational PolyGram label, the LPs carried extensive notes provided by Bahiatursa that included a history of the *trio elétrico* and fulgent descriptions of carnival: it is "the largest urban festival in Brazil, created and maintained by the people; a spontaneous manifestation, free, pure... An act of letting yourself go, trance, ecstasy, magic, the liberation of repressive tensions and the merging of the real and fantastic."⁸³ It describes a scene of stock popular participation: "it seems all the heads in the world turn to see a luminous object advancing—and then all the people [*o povo*] let themselves become possessed by the *trio elétrico*, the greatest symbol of this carnival." But notably, the recordings are actually showcases for some of the most popular *blocos de trio* of the era (with one token performance on each by the Filhos de Gandhi). Multiple dimensions reinforce the rationalized, industrial nature of the records: the *blocos* are identified with their brand images on the lyric sheet; the songs presented were theme songs of each *bloco*, so the lyrics were all identically self-referential; and (except for the *afoxé*) only the singers changed song to song, while WR Studios relied on its professional backup band

⁸² *Trio Dodô & Osmar Incendiou o Brasil*. Funarte: Brazilian Popular Music vol. 4 (Elektra / WEA, BR 82.007, 1981).

⁸³ "Carnaval da Bahia," liner notes to *Bahia Carnaval e Cerveja* (Stalo / PolyGram 831 490-1, 1986). The other record was *Bahia Sol e Cerveja* (Stalo / PolyGram 835 140-1, 1987). It is not clear who funded the project, but the records were clearly made as souvenirs or export items; the lyric and notes sheet of the first (I do not have the other) is a double-fold, opening to a centerfold-like photograph of the Filhos de Gandhi during carnival near the Praça Castro Alves, shot from above to convey scale. The second record received corporate sponsorship from Brahma, as the large logo on the cover indicates.

for the music. Bahiatursa's "informative" endorsement—"Now just listen to this record and try to transport yourself through the music to the place of magic that is Bahian carnival"—conflated simulacra with spontaneity, and presented the *blocos* as a tableaux of diversions equally accessible to all: the notes mention the *blocos* have a "security cord," but do not explain why or clarify one had to pay to be within it.

Brazil Sings to Bahia's Tune: Axé Music Displaces Frevo Baiano

By the late 1980s, the "region" of the *trio elétrico* was becoming Brazil as a whole. Some of that credit goes to Orlando Campos's Tapajós, whose *trios* had been following performance opportunities around the country since the early 1970s. Some must go to Moraes Moreira, who, based in Rio de Janeiro, had been releasing records that continued to include influences (musical and lyrical) from Salvador's carnival—notably *Lá Vem o Brasil Descendo a Ladeira* (1979) and *Moraes Moreira* (1981)—which had the distribution to reach far more listeners around Brazil than the records put out by Osmar and Armandinho's *trio*. But the first celebrity to emerge from within Salvador's carnival industry was Luiz Caldas, in 1985. He had worked and recorded with Tapajós since 1979 and had been a member of the regular backup band at WR Studio, Acordes Verdes (which also included rising composer / percussionist Carlinhos Brown). In addition to noted record sales, starting with the 1985 single "Fricote,"⁸⁴ Caldas's image was placed

⁸⁴ With the lines "Black girl with the hard hair / She doesn't like to comb it / When she passes under the bridge / The black dude starts to shout / Grab her, grab her," the song relied on starkly racist and misogynistic tropes that, coincidentally or not, recalled a 1930s Rio carnival hit by Lamartine Babo, "O Teu Cabelo não Nega (Your Hair Can't Deny It)": "Your hair gives you away, *mulata* / Because you are a true *mulata* / But since your color doesn't rub off / *Mulata*, I want your love." Recently, Luiza Maia, a Bahia state congresswoman, argued that the contracted artist fee for a publicly-funded show by Caldas should be cut 30% because Caldas performed "Fricote," which she argued perpetuated "symbolic violence" against black women. "Deputada 'pune' Luiz Caldas por música que crê ser racista," *A Tarde* (Salvador), 22 December 2011.

on T-shirts and keychains.⁸⁵ He appeared on national television and in magazines for his catchy songs with widely-adopted choreographed dance moves, the music rooted in the stylistic hybridity characteristic of the *trios* (in his case, melding pop to reggae and calypso, helping usher in a brief calypso boom in Salvador around 1989).

Caldas's lyrics at the time did not focus on Salvador or its carnival, with one exception—perhaps because he was reaching for wider markets, although while still a “local” artist in Tapajós in 1981, he wrote three songs dealing explicitly with Salvador's carnival and the *trio elétrico*, praising Dodô, Osmar, Armandinho, and Orlando Campos.⁸⁶ But after his national break he would still perform during carnival, especially for the Camaleão *bloco*, which was the focus of his 1986 song “Reggae do Camaleão.” The song essentially served to advertise the *bloco*: “I’ll go / I’ll go / I’ll go to the avenue / With love in my heart / I’ll go / I’ll go / I’ll go wearing the colors of Camaleão.”⁸⁷ By contrast, most of his songs dealt with love and romance, eastern spirituality, reggae music, and existential concerns. In a career arc familiar to the culture industry, Caldas's star began to fade a few years later, although he is held by many to be the pioneer of one of Salvador's most distinctive music forms, *axé music*.⁸⁸

Coincidentally also in 1985, on the cusp of Caldas's big break and the official redemocratization of Brazil, Moraes Moreira and Armandinho released the song “Chame

⁸⁵ By early 1987, his first LP *Magia* (Nova República / PolyGram, 826583-1, 1985) had sold 250,000 copies and his second, *Flor Cigana* (Polydor 831 268-1, 1986), 350,000 copies. “Bahia brinca ao som do rei do deboche,” *Veja*, 04 March 1987.

⁸⁶ These were “Fontes de Alegria,” “Iniciais Piradas,” and “Frevorlando,” all on the Trio Elétrico Tapajós LP *Jubileu de Prata* (Baccarola 020 010, 1981).

⁸⁷ A similar song that served to advertise Camaleão was recorded by Chiclete Com Banana in 1989, “Belo Camaleão (Beatiful Chameleon),” which attributed magic powers to the *bloco* (“Sadness goes away... Water turns to wine... The bitter turns to honey.”)

⁸⁸ Chris McGowan and Ricardo Pessanha, *The Brazilian Sound: Samba, Bossa Nova and the Popular Music of Brazil* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998), 131-2.

Gente (Call the People)”⁸⁹ which embodied a very different approach to lyrical subjects and place identity. It depicted local carnival scenes and sensations in Salvador—“The blood and wine runs / In the ditch and in Pelourinho / On foot or aboard the truck / Faith can’t go lacking / Carnival will run its course / In Praça da Sé or Campo Grande / We are all the ‘Filhos [sons] of Gandhi / [And] of Dodô and Osmar”—with a summons to unite everyone, “Call the people / And we complete each other / Filling with happiness / The plaza of the poet [Castro Alves].” The song’s title and chorus (“Call, call, call, call the people”) make punning use of a neighborhood in Salvador called Chame-Chame, which fits with the text’s other specific place references (Vitória, Lapinha) as well as providing a ready-made repetitive refrain that echoed the fact that the popular vote had returned. As if in a rebuff to Rio’s highly mass-mediated carnival, the album cover featured a black-framed television with no one watching it, and a *guitarra baiana* next to it that seemed to be smirking. The song remains a popular success, especially during carnival, although it is rarely referred to as *axé music* amongst musicians or fans. According to Moraes the song, with its famous line “Happiness is a state we call Bahia,” has been “consecrated by new generations of fans and artists, becoming an unofficial hymn to mobilize the masses for a moment of celebration and integration, and a declaration of love to a state we happen to call Bahia.”⁹⁰ It is also among the first recorded songs that begins to fill in the musical map of Salvador, highlighting diverse urban regions, not only the famous churches of Bonfim and Ribeira or the city’s beaches, from Itapuã to Amaralina.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Trio Elétrico Dodô & Osmar, *Chame Gente*, RCA Victor 103.0661, 1985.

⁹⁰ Moreira, *Sonhos Elétricos*, 77-79.

⁹¹ It anticipated a new wave of songs referring to city neighborhoods, but perhaps the first such song was Ary Barroso’s “No Baixo do Sapateiro” of 1938, sung by Carmen Miranda and Bing Crosby.

Why is “Chame Gente” generally excluded from the category of *axé music*, which was hailed by Luiz Afonso Costa, the marketing director of Emtursa (then Salvador’s municipal tourism authority) as responsible in 1993 for “a boom that shook the entire country... The music is a fundamental brand of the city, and a powerful and distinctive tourist attraction”?⁹² The phrase does not consistently apply to a single style, nor is there agreement on when *axé music* actually came into being, including when the term itself was coined; it is best understood as an approach to hybridizing different genres into a recognizably Bahian product. Its periodization starts either in the early 1980s, or in the few years after Luiz Caldas’s national success and the rise of carnival bands in Salvador. The term is widely attributed to Bahian journalist and music critic Hagamenon Brito, a connoisseur of Brazilian rock, who used it disparagingly about the music coming out of Salvador—perhaps, or perhaps not, with specific reference to Caldas’s song “Axé pra Lua,” on Tapajós’s 1981 *Jubileu de Prata* album.⁹³ That same year, Moraes had a big hit with “Assim Pintou Moçambique” (cowritten with Antônio Risério), which also included the word *axé*, so it is plausible there was more than one unique song that Brito might have been referring to—indeed, the fact that several were there crowding out Salvador’s small rock scene might have piqued him the more.

The penetration of the word and concept of *axé* into *trio* and other carnival songs, and its later enshrinement in the rubric “*axé music*” —from uncertain slang origins to fan, media, and industry professional adoption—all reveal the growing influence of Salvador’s *afoxés* and *blocos afro* on the wider cultural scene. It is often remarked that the phrase

⁹² Luiz Afonso Costa, “Um Salto Planejado,” 10, 6.

⁹³ Another theory is that a different Bahian journalist, Marcelo Nova, first used the phrase in 1982. Caldas is delighted to claim the honor of having “invented” *axé music* itself, but that is an endlessly controversial argument. “Bodas de prata da axé music,” *A Tarde* (Salvador), 06 February 2010.

axé music is particularly ironic in describing Salvador's dominant commercial carnival music after 1990, because there is not a Portuguese word in it. For some observers, this fact embodies the idea that the genre crassly skips contemporary Brazilian reality altogether by referring superficially to its slave past, and its commercially globalized future: *Axé* is a Yoruba word, with a series of associated connotations from light to positive energy, and refers to spiritual power that is bestowed from the ancestors. Music is of course an English word, rather than the Portuguese *música*. The singer who would come to be called the "Queen of *Axé*" was Daniela Mercury, who, over two extraordinarily popular records made at WR Studio in 1991 and 1992,⁹⁴ brought the characteristic syncopated percussive sound of Salvador's *blocos afro* directly into keyboard-heavy pop arrangements—something done neither by Moraes, who used traditional but understated Afro-Bahian *afoxé* rhythms under his electric guitar; nor by Caldas, whose music emphasized a Caribbean base as translated to Brazil by a pop band.

Part of Mercury's achievement was due to technology, because accurately recording the large bass drums of the *blocos afro* depended on new specialized microphones and other studio equipment that might not have been available in Salvador when Caldas recorded his debut album in 1985, and were still prohibitively expensive for the *blocos afro* themselves. But it was also undoubtedly a creative choice by Mercury and her team to figuratively combine the best of both "racial" worlds (*trio* and *bloco afro* elements) into one package. She went to the source, hiring the songwriters and drummers of the most prestigious *blocos afro*, Ilê Aiyê and Olodum. The latter of her first two solo records, *O Canto da Cidade (The Song of the City)*, was re-released in CD format on the multinational Sony label in 1993 and to date has sold over two and a half million copies.

⁹⁴ The records were *Daniela Mercury* (Eldorado, 1991) and *O Canto da Cidade* (Epic, 1992).

But it was largely to her immediate success as a commercial artist and tourist attraction, and to the dozens of smaller local successes around her attempting the same thing, that the Emtursa marketing director referred as the “*axé* boom” transforming Salvador’s carnival. By 1993, “In the wake of this success, the beer companies began a bidding war to contract with us to sponsor carnival, and we were selling next year’s carnival through travel agents across Europe, especially Portugal and Madrid,” he gushed.⁹⁵

For the Trio Elétrico Dodô & Osmar, including Armandinho and Moraes, the *axé* boom was seeming to leave them behind. Part of the problem was generational—their “market” popularity for recordings, such as it was, had peaked with their return to carnival in the mid-late 1970s and never really transcended the region, while the new international carnival industry prized young faces and especially svelte female vocalists. As a *trio*, they were independent, and stood largely outside the type of free-market cultural development that the city and state favored; Costas of Emtur carefully praised the city’s actions in “organizing” carnival as merely “improving quality” through partnerships with the private sector, not through the centralization and control historically associated with other Brazilian carnivals. But the deeper problem was the founding *trio*’s enduring commitment to *frevo* as the basis of their carnival music. As early as 1954, when their *trio* was sponsored by Fratelli Vita and Rádio Sociedade performing *frevos* from Recife and other popular songs converted to electric *frevo*, there was a sense in the city that *frevo* did not exactly represent Bahian identity. That year, a local newspaper reported that the group Mauricéia was coming from Recife to “present a manifestation of Pernambucan *frevo* in homage to the municipality of Salvador... The *frevo* is a typical dance from Pernambuco that, with its contagious rhythm, is today known throughout the

⁹⁵ Luiz Afonso Costa, “Um Salto Planejado,” 10.

country. Let us all applaud the *frevo*, and celebrate with the Pernambucans in an act of true carnivalesque northeastern solidarity.”⁹⁶ The sense that *frevo* was Pernambucan was actively encouraged by Brazil’s mass media in general and Pernambuco’s in particular. Other terms emerged in Salvador to describe how Dodô and Osmar had translated *frevo* into something new and localized, such as “new *frevo*” (*frevo novo*) or “Bahian *frevo*” (*frevo baiano*),⁹⁷ and in the late 1970s and 1980s, they continued to bring rock, classical, and traditional Brazilian music into the mix. Their 1980 LP included “Vassourinha Elétrica,” in which Moraes Moreira sang “*Frevo*, that is Pernambucan / Suffered when it arrived in Bahia / A new touch, a Bahian accent / And got a whole new enregy... / It’s the *frevo*, it’s the *trio*, it’s the people / It’s the people it’s the *frevo*, it’s the *trio*.”⁹⁸ But during that period, as the influx of reggae, merengue and other Caribbean styles joined the surging influence from Afro-Bahian carnival groups to transform the musical experiments of most of Salvador’s *trio* musicians into what would be called *axé music*, the Trio Elétrico Dodô and Osmar firmly maintained their association with *frevo*.

Part of the reason might be familial: Osmar’s father was Pernambucan,⁹⁹ or perhaps both his parents were.¹⁰⁰ It was likely also significant that Dodô, Osmar, and Armandinho recorded their LPs in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, staying somewhat removed from the fervent pre-*axé* and *axé* scenes developing around WR Studios. There

⁹⁶ “Carnaval e o frevo chegou,” *Diário de Notícias*, 14 February 1954.

⁹⁷ Even Antônio Risério, who was generally more focused on the significance of the *afoxés* and *blocos afro*, argued that “Dodô and Osmar did not just try to imitate Vassourinhas. Not at all. By electrifying Pernambucan *frevo*, they went deep; they created something completely original in Brazilian popular art. It was a new way of making music, so it is only just that a new word has emerged in Brazilian Portuguese to capture its essence of innovation and change, to ‘trieletrizar.’” (*Carnaval Ijexá*, 113).

⁹⁸ Moraes Moreira, “Vassourinha Elétrica,” on *Trio Elétrico Dodô & Osmar: Vassourinha Elétrica* (Warner / WEA BR 82.001, 1980).

⁹⁹ He stated as much in the interview “Trio independente para o povão está acabando” and on the liner notes to the LP *É a Massa*.

¹⁰⁰ Many secondary sources state that both his father and mother were from Recife, but Osmar also alleged it in the liner notes to *Trio Elétrico Dodô & Osmar: Bahia, Bahia, Bahia* (Continental 61.186.300/0001-00-P, 1977).

may also have been an urge to defend the family tradition of the first *trio elétrico* in a period that was witnessing both a boom in the number of *trios*, and an increasingly diverse repertoire of genres performed atop them. Osmar wrote in 1976:

I feel very happy to present another LP featuring the hot, hallucinatory rhythm of the *frevo*, trio-electrified... and for my father to have been born in Recife, the land of *frevo*, and for my sons to have inherited in blood and spirit the bold rhythms of Pernambucan *frevo*... And to present an homage to the fabulous Nelson Ferreira, author of the *frevos* that were the greatest successes of the *trio elétrico* in the 1950s, and to see the *trio elétrico* spreading out everywhere, across Brazil. And finally, for Armandinho, who is in charge of this whole thing now, and imprinting on it the “pop” sound of our current days but without taking the *trio elétrico* away from the original roots of its sound: the *frevo*.¹⁰¹

A few years earlier, Osmar was asked why the *trio elétrico* provided the greatest public animation during carnival: “Because the people participate, they are not merely spectators. But it’s also the music, which is *frevo*, contagious, irrepressible, much more so than samba. Once Dodô and I experimented, switching the *frevo* to samba, and the people just stopped leaping and dancing (*o povo parou de pular*).”¹⁰² In 1976, *ViverBahia* referred to *frevo* as the sound of the street carnival of the *trio elétrico*,¹⁰³ and a 1981 description of *what* the *trios* played (*frevos*, marches, polkas, sambas, rock and roll) was distinguished from *how* they played it: “a mixture of Pernambucan *frevo* and *marchinha* from Rio de Janeiro, resulting in something totally Bahian.”¹⁰⁴ As late as 1986, Salvador’s *trio* bands associated with *blocos* were still basing songs in the *frevo* style and even lyrically calling attention to *frevo* as the music of carnival as well.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ Osmar Macedo, liner notes to *É a Massa*.

¹⁰² “Ford-29 conduz trio elétrico que Osmar fundou a 23 anos.”

¹⁰³ “O passo contínuo da multidão.”

¹⁰⁴ “Trio elétrico, arma invencível do carnaval baiano,” *A Tarde* (Salvador), 15 February 1981.

¹⁰⁵ Such as the songs “Eva Alegria” written by Eduardo Gil for the *bloco* Eva, and “Transar Fé” written by Péri and Beto Pelegrino for the *bloco* Pike, on the *bloco de trio* showcase album *Bahia Carnaval e Cerveja* (PolyGram 831 490-1, 1986).

But soon that style was in clear remission. The bands' rhythm sections were absorbing not only the heavy syncopations of Salvador's *blocos afro* but the sounds of the African Diaspora within and around those rhythms; the multinational record labels were increasingly distributing records from the Caribbean in Brazil, and they were widely embraced in Salvador, especially among Afro-Bahians who took inspiration from the subaltern cultural politics of Bob Marley and other Rastafarian reggae artists.¹⁰⁶ Neguinho do Samba, percussion director for the *bloco afro* Olodum (founded 1979), crafted his orchestrations in opposition to the Rio-based samba school percussion tradition, avoiding many of their traditional instruments and patterns to seek other cultural linkages. He blended rhythms from reggae, merengue, and samba circle dances from Bahia's interior. He also substituted Afro-Cuban *timbales* for the whistle used by Rio's samba school conductors, calling it "something that belongs to traffic cops."¹⁰⁷

There were other *blocos afro* generating novel rhythms by the late 1970s and early 1980s, such as Ilê Aiyê, Ara Ketu, and Muzenza. The first *bloco afro* record was released by Ilê Aiyê in 1984, although its audio qualities were poor compared to the better-recorded, radio-ready *trio* band productions. But it was Olodum, initially heard in cramped public rehearsals in Pelourinho as well as their carnival appearances, that most directly influenced many *trio* bands. By 1987 those groups were performing Olodum's songs, or basing new songs and entire records off the *bloco's* characteristic lilting beat.¹⁰⁸ Two of the first bands to create versions of Olodum's songs that translated the pure

¹⁰⁶ "A Bahia Virou Jamaica," *Folha de São Paulo*, 31 January 1988.

¹⁰⁷ Waly Salomão, "Pelourinho, Pelourin, Pelouro, Pelô, evolução de um nome," *Folha de São Paulo*, 13 May 1988.

¹⁰⁸ Milton M. Moura, "Faraó: Um poder musical," *Cadernos do CEAS* 112 (1987), 11-29.

percussion of the *blocos afro* into *trio* format were Banda Mel¹⁰⁹ and Reflexus,¹¹⁰ both recording at WR Studio. Also at WR, Daniela Mercury hired Olodum's top drummers to perform several songs on her 1991 solo album *Daniela*. Released as singles, they received heavy national airplay and sold well. The next year, she took a greater calculated risk by associating with Ilê Aiyê, by then controversial for their policy of excluding people deemed white from joining the *bloco*, and attained even greater commercial success (including a 1992 show before 30,000 people in São Paulo¹¹¹).

Axé music was forming around the legacy of the Trio Elétrico Dodô and Osmar in terms of the open-minded approach to hybridizing musical genres. But younger musicians avoided stylistic references to Recife and embraced the contemporary sound of the *blocos afro* as a new trend in the city that asserted pride in the African heritage and that resonated with global aesthetics and philosophies. Jamaica and South Africa became standard references in the *trio* songs due to the cultural politics of Bob Marley and other Rastafarian musicians, and the intellectual resistance to apartheid of Nelson Mandela and Steve Biko.¹¹² In terms of instrumental performance, *axé music* ignited a sense of Bahia's international modernism, of diverse sonic material consumed and reconfigured into something uniquely local. But this meant displacing or at least demoting *frevo* as a traditional regionalism to be used sparingly if at all.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ Banda Mel, *Força Interior, Apresentando o Sucesso Faraó* (GEL / Continental, 1-01-404-317, 1987).

¹¹⁰ Reflexus, *Da Mãe África* (EMI / Odeon, 1987).

¹¹¹ "We are the world of carnaval," *Carnaval Já É* (2006), 18.

¹¹² For instance, Banda Reflexus, one of the first to translate Olodum's rhythms into a pop-carnival format, recorded the song "Jardim do Ébano (Ebony Garden) in 1988: "No apartheid, no no / I want liberty to flourish, the prettiest flower / To flourish, lilies and Mandela / No apartheid in Brazil / No apartheid in Africa / No apartheid in Bahia or Jamaica."

¹¹³ *Frevo* influenced a song Daniela Mercury included on *O Canto da Cidade* called "Monumento Vivo," written by Moraes Moreira and his son Davi. But the *frevo* rhythms and melodies were used only in a few defined sections of the piece. With this gesture Mercury both claimed *frevo*, and put it in its place.

The preceding discussion dealt principally with musical style, and the instrumental aspects of musical performance. However, going forward to *axé music* means going back to 1985 and “Chame Gente,” an influential hit from the most prolifically recording *trio* band at the time. The song fit into the Trio Elétrico Dodô and Osmar’s history of songs joyfully boosting the city and its culture, starting from their first LP and including their two political jingles. Their songs could be, if not precisely self-celebratory, amiably didactic mini-histories of the creation and success of the *trio elétrico* as a product of both individuals and Bahia itself. “Ligação (Connection),” 1978, was an example: “Here comes the *trio* / From one generation to the next / It’s a truckload of happiness / On the streets of Bahia / Where the magic was born / From an inventive spirit / Dodô and Osmar... / The main reason / That we have in Bahia / The greatest carnival.”¹¹⁴ In 1981, with “De Lá da Bahia,” they added a sensual subtext: “Come closer to feel how it really is... / All the people jumping, playing in the middle of the street... / Come on, *morena*, get close to me / And we’ll groove together / Vibration and happiness / From the Trio Dodô and Osmar / Dodô and Osmar.”¹¹⁵

But something in the groundedness or essential placeness of their songs proved influential to artists coming after Caldas. New groups adopted this type of geographically framed discourse as the basic lyrical, thematic framework for *axé music*. Salvador’s experiments with musical genre and instrumentation in carnival had perhaps been widened and amplified by Caldas,¹¹⁶ although his incorporation of the *ijexá* rhythm of the

¹¹⁴ “Ligação,” on Trio Elétrico Dodô & Osmar, *Ligação* (1978).

¹¹⁵ “De Lá da Bahia,” on *Trio Elétrico Dodô & Osmar Incendiou o Brasil* (1981).

¹¹⁶ There are disputes over who first introduced an electric keyboard to a *trio elétrico*. It has been attributed to Caldas (Antonio César Silva Silva, “A Trajetória de Vida de Luiz Caldas: Ascensão, Inflexão e Retomada,” Masters diss., Federal University of Bahia, 2009), and also claimed by Bel Marques, vocalist of Chiclete com Banana (Góes, *50 Anos do Trio Elétrico*, 158).

afoxés in his 1985 hit “Fricote” was not as pioneering as is sometimes claimed (Moreira had been doing this since 1979).¹¹⁷ The *afoxé* and *bloco afro* influences were widely adopted among *trio* bands by the mid-late 1980s, but in terms of carnival lyrics, the paradigm stressed local happiness and pride, social harmony, valuation of the collective as the source of romance and festivity, and an ideal vision of what the city could be.

The early songs recorded by the Trio Elétrico Dodô & Osmar were immediately influential. The trope of happiness as the state of Bahia was copied by Rudá Monteiro in a 1987 song, “Batuque da Alegria,” for the *trio* band PapaLéguas. And ten years after “De Lá da Bahia,” Banda Mel, a *trio* band that was unusual in affirming its Afro-Brazilian identity on its LP sleeves,¹¹⁸ seemed to remake it with their 1991 “Terra Maravilhosa (Marvelous Land):” “Hey, it’s Bahia, my love / The magic of Salvador / Ahhh... marvelous land / Of enchantment and pleasures / And such a charming girl / Teach me this dance / I want to have the hope / To kiss you one day.” Indeed, before *axé music* was a relatively defined genre with the national success of Daniela Mercury, the lyrical tendency to sing about the city and its carnival (that Caldas avoided) had been picked up by various local carnival musicians in the mid-late 1980s and can be found even in the period lambada¹¹⁹ records they recorded. The pair of *Lambahia* records (volumes 1 and 2, PolyGram, 1989) intersected lambada directly with carnival. Banda

¹¹⁷ McGowan and Pessanha (*The Brazilian Sound*, 131-2) suggest that Caldas was the first to do this, on his 1985 LP *Magia*. The differences from Moreira’s approach are subtle, but clear; Caldas’s tempos are slower, and his “abstraction” of the Afro-Bahian percussion rhythm onto pop-band orchestrations is greater.

¹¹⁸ Several LPs carry the phrase “BLACK is: ‘the race, color, culture, and the musical identity of Banda Mel.’”

¹¹⁹ Lambada is a sensual couples dance perhaps deriving from Pará in northern Brazil. It became a brief international trend after a French entrepreneur created a multinational band called Kaoma, bought the rights to a large number of songs, and attained distribution in Europe and Latin America. In the U.S., in 1990, Warner released a movie called *Lambada* that was broadly derivative of the 1987 popular film *Dirty Dancing*, but with a stereotyped “Latin flair.” Other styles popular in the late 1980s among Salvador’s carnival bands were merengue and even *forró* (an accordion-driven dance style associated with the interior of Pernambuco).

Tomalira had a song called “Lá Vai o Trio (There Goes the Trio),” and Banda Beijo’s “Salvador pra Você (Salvador is for You) declared “Carnval in Bahia, hey, ho / It’s nice to play with you / Carnival is magic, hey, ho / Salvador is for you / Groove with the band to the front / Groove with the band to the back / Lambada is for getting down.” But the lambada boom was brief, and entirely effaced by the avalanche of *axé music* (although Ivete Sangalo in 2005 brought back the era’s most popular hit, “Chorando se Foi,” which had been based on an earlier Bolivian song).

Axé music presents several paradoxes. While it brought new visibility to the cultural production, aesthetics, and philosophy of the *blocos afro*, as well as economic opportunity to many talented individual Afro-Bahian musicians, it also often traded in stereotypes. A song on Mercury’s first record, “Menino do Pelô,” referring to the poor Afro-Bahian youth of Pelourinho where Olodum was based, repeated the refrain “Every boy in Pelourinho / Knows how to play the drums.” This reaffirmed the image of the population as innately, perhaps genetically endowed with specific cultural skills (but perhaps little else of value, such as intellectual potential). “Menino do Pelô” was written by Gerônimo and Saul Barbosa and sold to Mercury. But in 1983 Gerônimo had recorded his own composition entitled “Menino do Pelourinho,”¹²⁰ which took a far more humanistic view of the subject—“The boy in Pelourinho knows how to love / He has sympathy to give / The girl in Pelourinho / Loves flowers, kisses, enchantment, guitars.” Eight years later, the market, responding in part to Olodum’s increasing fame (including their recording session with Paul Simon for his *Rhythm of the Saints* album) and to the endeavour to convert Pelourinho to a tourist attraction, had decided how Pelourinho and its “typical” residents were to be described.

¹²⁰ On the record *Página Musical* (PolyGram 810 75018, 1983), which was recorded at WR.

But Gerônimo was a keen observer of carnival, and in 1987, just prior to the *axé* boom, he recorded “Macuxi Muita Onda (Eu Sou Negão),” a remarkable song-play depicting the intersection of a *trio elétrico* performing pop-reggae with a percussive *bloco afro* (ostensibly Ilê Aiyê) on the street.¹²¹ Gerônimo carefully interwove the characteristic sounds of the two groups as they approached, with the *trio* singer respectfully calling for silence as the *bloco* passed. The song’s framing lyrics praised the beauty, culture, and tradition of the *blocos afro*, while the piece as a whole was a highly creative portrayal of the ideals of equality and “equal representation” in Salvador’s carnival—but also of the practical limits of racial mixture on the street. The singers address each other, essentially each asking the other what he is doing, to explain their culture; the confrontation is brief, and resolved by the declaration “You guys go your way and we’ll go ours.” Beneath the apparent racial harmony was the more realistic portrayal of an uneasy coexistence, with the tension of a conflict avoided, at least for now—far different from the celebration of harmonious relations typical of later *axé music*, but the tension was a subtext to a catchy song that became a hit for Gerônimo, entering into the repertoire he performed atop his own *trio* (see figure 8).

1988 brought considerable media attention to the *blocos afro*, as it was the hundred-year anniversary of the abolition of slavery in Brazil. The major groups paraded and held public presentations and protests related to the theme. But the nuances of an emancipation wracked with lingering structural injustices did not fit easily into the medium of carnival songs, nor was violent confrontation or separatism (in the mode of the Black Panther movement in the U.S.) ever what the *blocos afro* had in mind. Their themes of “freedom,” and their strong location-based assertions of identity—not only the

¹²¹ Gerônimo, *Eu Sou Negão* (Continental 1-35-903-001, 1987).



Salvador, 15/02/88 - Carnaval de Ba. Foto Agilidade Lima Telefoto O Estado.

Figure 8: Gerônimo in performance, carnival 1988. Source: Fundação Gregório de Mattos.

neighborhood of origin, but the constant references to Bahia—fit hand-in-glove with the cohering *trio elétrico* repertoire of a proud people united to participate in happiness, liberty, and boosterism. Indeed, while Salvador’s carnival is often analyzed in terms of axes of black and white, Milton Moura perceptively notes a homogeneity in both the organization and cultural production of the *blocos afro* and *trios*, and a shared “representation of consensus.”¹²² This was reflected in the song Mercury recorded in 1992, “O Mais Belo dos Belos,” which praised Ilê Aiyê for eighteen years of existence: “Who hasn’t seen them / Doesn’t know what they’re missing / It’s so much happiness / That Ilê brings.” The chorus deftly intersects the political, racial, and

¹²² Moura, “O carnaval como engenho e representação consensual da sociedade baiana.”

carnavalesque dimensions of “liberty” or *Liberdade* (the group’s home neighborhood): “Don’t restrain me, no / Let me do as I wish / Let me go enjoy Ilê / The charm of liberty.”

The most common critique of *axé music* from a racial perspective has been that it represents a cooptation of the “black” culture of the *blocos afro* and a reconfiguration of its meaning, stripping it of political potential and making it safely celebratory of Bahia and vague notions of African “roots.” To an extent that is true, although in practice the *blocos afro* never lived up to the rhetoric of revolutionary social change that circled around the groups and their music.¹²³ And Ilê Aiyê, who maintains a controversial dark-skin-only membership policy,¹²⁴ is content to interact with white *axé* musicians on a professional level when everyone is getting paid for their work. Their alternative *bloco*, *Eu Também Sou Ilê*, created for the Barra circuit, does not have a racial barrier to entry.

But with all its imbalances *axé music* seemed to embody a new sort of miscegenation, a field of cooperation and dialogue between races that was wrapped in the shiny hipness of the culture industry, and focused on present gratifications and future hopes. If the past was sung about, it was embraced with pride in the African contribution to Bahian society, and the strength of Afro-Bahia’s slave ancestors. Slavery, when it came up in *bloco afro* songs, was not viewed with the sense of embarrassment that the samba schools’ traditional *enredos* could appear to convey. Bahian anthropologist Jeferson Bacelar stresses *axé music*’s centrality to the “national and international

¹²³ Niyi Afolabi, “The Myth of the Participatory Paradigm: Carnival and Contradictions in Brazil” (*Studies in Latin American Popular Culture* 20, 2001).

¹²⁴ This seems to date to the period of rising militancy around the anniversary of abolition in 1988, and not to their founding. Ilê Aiyê imposed the rule in response to widespread evidence of racial exclusivity amongst the private *blocos de trio*, keeping potential Afro-Bahian reveler-customers out. But Ilê Aiyê formed in 1974, and the *blocos de trio* were not significant in number nor significantly organized on their private business model until the 1980s.

consecration of Bahian carnival in 1993,” helping defining it as “the image of an egalitarian festivity, the extraordinary expression of racial and cultural democracy.”¹²⁵

Roberto da Matta argued that carnival inverts the quotidian reality of Brazilian society; his Bahian critic Antonio Risério countered that Salvador’s carnival instead (but just as mechanically) places the structures of that reality in sharper relief, and denounces them. That may be, and yet it seems Salvador’s carnival, particularly as it grew with *axé music*, became a space that offered not just the ability to experiment via masquerade that is fundamental to carnivals around the world, but the specific opportunity for some participants to experiment with ethnicity. As a cultural product emerging from a consolidating industry, *axé music* textually and temporally extended carnival’s traditional potential for one to shift identities, at least for the more powerful in society. Tropes of black ethnicity became an element anyone could temporarily claim or try on, as when Marcia Freire, the statuesque blonde singer of Cheiro de Amor, sang in 1992 that she would “Dance reggae with the multitudes / Until the sun comes up,” or that the drums of the *blocos afro* “Beat, beat, beat so strong / Beat in my heart / My love / My heart is a drum.”¹²⁶ She assured her listeners that “All colors are the same,”¹²⁷ and that “I am Ilé of Salvador, I am Harlem dancing / I am your reggae, your funk, your samba / When the skin has no color we are all Jah.”¹²⁸ And to symbolize their musical allegiance with Olodum, Banda Mel had its *moreno* vocalist Robson sing “The black race / Is the fruit of love / I am from Pelô.”¹²⁹ But one can observe that *axé* bands singing messages of black

¹²⁵ Jeferson Bacelar, “Blacks in Salvador: Racial Paths” (in Crook & Johnson, *Black Brazil*), 99.

¹²⁶ Cabral & Illo Gomes, “Lá no Reggae Eu Vou” and Renan Ribeiro & Illo Gomes, “Coração de Tambor,” both on Banda Cheiro de Amor, *Bahia* (Polydor, 517 675-1, 1992).

¹²⁷ Carlos Pita, “Bênção,” on Banda Cheiro de Amor, *É o Ouro!* (PolyGram 511 729-1, 1991).

¹²⁸ Carlos Pita, “Resistir,” on Banda Cheiro de Amor, *É o Ouro!*

¹²⁹ Beto Silva, “Prefixo de Verão,” on *Prefixo de Verão* (Continental LP 1-07-405-464, 1990).

affirmation often also found a way to locate themselves on the exclusive Barra carnival territory, by inclusion of references to Barra's distinctive lighthouse (*farol*) as part of the background in their song texts.¹³⁰ The cover of a 1993 *axé* compilation depicted a pair of dancers posed in eroticized glee—it is barely visible that the woman is topless—on a stylized Barra beach, the lighthouse shown behind them (see figure 9).¹³¹ Daniela Mercury made perhaps the strongest claim of all to embodying the city's complex racial-cultural hybridity with “O Canto da Cidade (The Song of the City)” in 1992, which asserted “The song of this city is mine / I am the color of this city... / No one can explain it / It is beautiful.” The notion of a multiplicity of identities, locales and experiences equally available for consuming (along with an obfuscation of the socioeconomic realities underpinning the inexplicable “beauty” of the city) would resonate harmoniously with official touristic advertising of carnival, the texts of which constructed the subjectivity of an ideal tourist-reveler for whom money was no object.¹³² If the assumption of African diasporic attributes by white *axé* singers was, like early forms of American minstrelsy, “creating a new sense of whiteness by creating a new sense of blackness,” it differed from the pre-Civil War U.S. experience in a key detail: here, it was associated not with working-class performers and audiences but with elite ones.¹³³

¹³⁰ The Barra lighthouse is one of the most common touristic sights of Salvador, and is referred to simply as the “*farol*.” It plays a role of scenery or a source of illumination (and hence part of the branding of the bands and the *blocos* who contracted them) in, for example, Banda Beijo, “Beijo na Boca” (*Lambahia*, PolyGram 841-809-1, 1989); Banda Papa Léguas, “Dias de Prazer” (*Dias de Prazer*, Som Livre 407.0206, 1994); Cheiro de Amor, “Pra Acabar com a Soldão” (*Festa*, PolyGram 841 739.1, 1989); Asa de Água, “Dia dos Namorados” (*Cocobambu*, Columbia 177.351/1-464441, 1993).

¹³¹ *Axé Music: O Som da Bahia* (PolyGram 517.918.1, 1993).

¹³² “You have a lot of decisions to make—stay on the beach? Go to the city center? Grab an *abadá* to enter a *bloco* at the last minute? ... At any moment you can change scenes, atmospheres, groups—even transform your own character. In an air-conditioned luxury viewing box with a DJ, watching the *trios*, you’ll be one person. In the middle of the crowd, on the street, you’ll be another. And if you’re with the *bloco* of Timbalada? Who knows what could happen!” “O mais animado do mundo,” *Carnaval Já É*, 10-11.

¹³³ David Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (London: Verso, 1999) 115.



Figure 9: *Axé Music* carnivalizes Barra.
Source: *Axé Music: O Som da Bahia*, 1993 (author's collection).

“Salvador is for You”

The themes of *axé music* have been the focus of much analysis and are among the subjects of a recent monograph on Bahian identity (which includes festivity, religiosity, pleasure, communion, etcetera);¹³⁴ elsewhere Armstrong encapsulates them nicely as “the euphoria of love, festivity, and simply being in Bahia.”¹³⁵ But in the context of the present dissertation I want to suggest two areas of analysis that link its discourses to

¹³⁴ Agnes Mariano, *A Invenção da Baianidade* (São Paulo: Annablume, 2009).

¹³⁵ Armstrong, “The Aesthetic Escape Hatch,” 74.

contemporary issues in Salvador in the late 1980s and through the 1990s: the themes of welcoming, and of the city as a site of peaceful, democratic harmony. Both of these clearly relate back to the general characterizations of Bahia as colorful, festive, and a national repository of Brazilian identity that ran through the popular music of the 1930s and beyond. Banda Mel's 1993 song "Na Bahia Tudo é Festa (In Bahia Everything's a Festival)"—"In Bahia everything's a festival / There are *lavagens* and processions / Merriment in Pelourinho / Salvador is happiness / Salvador is carnival" might just as easily been written in Rio de Janeiro fifty years earlier. But beneath the continuities there was also new currency, new subtexts. I argue that these themes are inseparable from Salvador's recent carnival music, and might be figuratively said to be in its cultural DNA, because of the precedents of the construct of popular participation that developed around the *trio elétrico*; the texts of the early recordings (both "popular" and political) by Trio Elétrico Dodô and Osmar; and the convergence of diverse local actors around the importance of tourism to carnival.

On the one hand, the period rhetoric of welcoming in this music is interwoven with flirtations and invitations for romance, a timeless and frankly predictable trope in commercial popular music of any provenience. In the early years of *axé* it was there on the *Lambahia 2* record, with songs called "Vem pra Cá (Come Here)" and "Vem Me dar um Beijo (Come Give Me a Kiss)." But it also seems to be responding to the whole corpus of mid-century songs recorded in Rio which cast Bahia as a special place regretfully abandoned, one day to return. In essence, Salvador was asking everyone to come back. All was forgiven; Brazil was invited to return to the seat of national tradition and identity, and to join the party—invited also, in the punning 1978 slogan of

Bahiatursa, to “Find Yourself in Bahia.”¹³⁶ The listener was asked to visit during carnival¹³⁷—perhaps most stunningly in a song entitled, in English, “We are the World of Carnival,” dating to 1988 but with several grandiose appearances on vinyl.¹³⁸ Listeners were asked to come to the city for the whole summer,¹³⁹ or to come back anytime at all to experience the unique sensations of the city.¹⁴⁰ Men invited people.¹⁴¹ Women invited people: Daniela Mercury purred, “The emptiness of my bedroom / Is the opposite of carnival / Come live with me / Everything is permitted.”¹⁴² In another song even the drive from Salvador’s airport was recounted in minute detail (from the tunnel of living bamboo outside the airport to the white dunes of Abaeté and the statue of the mermaid in Itapuã, all characteristic sights as one approaches the city center by car), framed in the warm emotions of a homecoming: “My God, what happiness / I am arriving in Bahia.”¹⁴³

While these texts can all be analyzed from the perspective of Brazilian popular music about Bahia, or more narrowly as Bahian carnival music, there seems undoubtedly

¹³⁶ “Bahiatursa quer que você se encontre na Bahia.” Advertisement, back cover of *ViverBahia* #43, 1978.

¹³⁷ Marinho – Pavão, “Tô no Cheiro,” recorded by Cheiro de Amor, 1988: “In the magic avenue / Carnival has burst forth / I want to be your love / In this festival of joy / If you want good times come here / Come to dance, come to savor / A hot kiss and a cold beer.”

¹³⁸ Nizan Guinaes, “We are the World of Carnival,” 1988: “Ah! How great you’re here / Welcome to Salvador / The heart of Brazil / Come, you’ll get to know / The city of light and pleasure / By dancing along with the trio elétrico / We are the world of carnival / We are Bahia.” I have a later but undated single (mid-1990s), the recording of which seems to have been spearheaded by Durval Lélys and the band Asa de Águia, featuring literally dozens of *axé* musicians in the chorale; the project, recorded at WR Studios and sponsored by an optometry franchise, was intended as a benefit for a local charity.

¹³⁹ Banda PapaLéguas, “Vem Viver Verão (Come to Live the Summer), 1994: “Come to live the summer / It’ll be so good to see you;” Renato Fechine, “Amor Tropical,” recorded by Asas de Águia, 1994: “Girl, I’ll take you / With me to Salvador / You’re gonna love it / It’s a party every day / Happiness everywhere / Summer in Bahia / Every day is carnival.”

¹⁴⁰ Dito, “A Vida é Festa (Life is a Festival), recorded by Banda Beijo, 1992: “Love, I want to smell your perfume / Love, I want to enjoy happiness... Life is a festival, it’s all happiness / Abandon sadness and come embrace me;” Fôca & Gilberto Timbaleiro, “Ilê que Fala de Amor (Ilê Speaks of Love),” recorded by Margareth Menezes, 1995: “Come to Salvador / Come see what it’s like here / Relax your body, take it easy / Let your mind go.” *Gente da Festa*, Warner Music Brasil Ltda C063011109-2, 1995.

¹⁴¹ Ninho Brito, Jaime Bahia, Guará & Dega, “Me Perdoa, Brasil (Forgive Me, Brazil),” recorded by Timbalada: “There is nothing as beautiful as this anywhere / Come / Whatever your skin color / The best carnival of Brazil / Is in Bahia.” On *Mãe de Samba*, Musicrama / Koch B000003Q08, 1997.

¹⁴² Daniela Mercury & Durval Lélys, “Vem Morar Comigo (Come Live with Me),” on *O Canto da Cidade*.

¹⁴³ Dito & Jorge Zárate, “Cheiro da Bahia (Scent of Bahia),” recorded by Cheiro de Amor, 1992.

a relation between their framework of tempting listeners to come participate in carnival, and the momentum of the city's tourism efforts since the 1970s. When Banda Cheiro de Amor urged its listeners in 1988 to “*faz um denço no meu denço*” (roughly, make a caress / indulgence within my caress / indulgence), and affirmed “The greater your desire / The more I want you,”¹⁴⁴ it may have triggered a memory among some of them of Bahia's touristic campaign of the late 1970s on the “*dengos* of Bahia,” which was advertised in national newspapers and on the pages of *ViverBahia* alongside pictures of smiling Afro-Bahian *baianas* ready to serve, tempting you to “Come. Ease your body. Relax. Just let things happen.” This also served as the title of an article by Bahiatursa director Paulo Gaudenzi on the “grand touristic potential of Bahia... especially in Salvador, the cultural manifestations, historical elements and scenery intermingle to create an enchanting touristic offering of the highest quality.”¹⁴⁵ When Banda Mel pleaded “Don't go / Don't go away / Oh baby don't go / Don't go away;”¹⁴⁶ when Ricardo Chaves emoted “I want you here at my side / It can't be like last year / When you went away and left me alone;”¹⁴⁷ when Netinho affirmed, “If one day by chance / You remember me / You can be sure / That I am here waiting for you,”¹⁴⁸ there is a peculiar resonance with the state's late-1970s official tourism campaign lamenting the absence of tourists after the carnival season, *Saudade Neles* (How We Miss Them).

Baianidade: *Selling the City of Happiness to (Almost) Everyone*

¹⁴⁴ Carlos Pita, “Merengue Desejo,” on Banda Cheiro de Amor, *Salassiê* (Polydor 837 7041), 1988.

¹⁴⁵ *ViverBahia* #38-39, November-December 1976; Paulo Gaudenzi, “Os Dencos da Bahia,” *Jornal da Bahia*, 14 July 1977.

¹⁴⁶ Rey Zulu & Emmanoel Kante, “Não Vá,” on Banda Mel, *Mãe Preta* (Continental 107405520), 1993.

¹⁴⁷ Renan Ribeiro & Ilo Gomes, “E Daí,” recorded by Ricardo Chaves, 1992. Similarly, on that same record, *O Bicho* (RCA / BMG 130 0156), Chaves did an *axé* version of Tim Maia's classic “Gostava Tanto de Você (I Liked You So Much),” which begins “I don't know why you went away / So much longing I have felt.”

¹⁴⁸ Carlinhos Boca & Gigi, “Por Que Tudo Acabou,” on Netinho, *Um Beijo Pra Você* (Philips 518 711-1, 1993).

Of course, in the cases above, there was not a deliberate, strategic collaboration between tourist marketers and *axé* songwriters, conniving in hidden laboratories to craft a shared message. Temporal disjuncts prove that, although the continuity of the thematically similar production also suggests that the consensus around Salvador's carnival of popular participation was transforming as carnival itself grew, to reflect the fact that tourism was a fundamental part of the festival experience. That tourism authorities and carnival's major market players, the *blocos de trio* and celebrity *trio* bands, had shared concerns regarding the success of carnival is clear. The festival was hailed by one of its administrators in 1996 "one of the best products Bahia has to offer, and it's the product that most generates revenue for the state and the city."¹⁴⁹ The *blocos de trio* and the *trio* bands had long recognized how much they stood to benefit both financially and in celebrity prestige from the influx of visitors. And to a certain extent there was a confluence, a harmonic convergence, between the ways these artists might describe Salvador as the city of carnival (including romantic encounters and dis-encounters, hellos and goodbyes, and racial blending in the mystical city of joy), and the efforts of the tourism industry to disseminate carnivalesque touristic propaganda. In the context of growth and change, both sets of actors turned to the same reservoirs of references to capture and advertise it, often through the same media channels. Carnival had become a productive system with benefits for all who entered and supported it, without making waves or calling its premises into question. This was emphasized in a 1995 Emtursa internal document:

There can be no other city that is so sung about as Salvador—a sung city. The nearly 3,000 musicians on the *trios* sing the city of Salvador, and invite listeners to the party, attracting visitors with the musical exposition of trademarks of Bahia,

¹⁴⁹ Dumêtil, "O Gerenciamento do Carnaval," 26.

such as Pelourinho, cuisine, beaches, famous neighborhoods, the *orixás*, the plaza of the poet, the *blocos afros*. Nothing escapes their sharp and festive perception, and they tirelessly recreate the symbols and mystic charms that make this city so unique in its diversity. These “musical postcards” are massively disseminated, on the radio and TV around the country and now around the world, selling the image of a city inundated with musicians who use the most advanced equipment. More than ever, Salvador is identified with musicality, portrayed as fertile soil for artists who live and love their work, work which provides a means of support for thousands of Bahian artists... On the external front, the international excursions of Daniela Mercury, Olodum, Chiclete Com Banana and others internationalize Bahian culture, and these artists become ambassadors and tourist magnets.¹⁵⁰

Around the same time, Paulo Gaudenzi, then Bahia’s Secretary of Culture and Tourism, affirmed the working relationships between the state, tourism authorities, and the *axé* producers whose work was deemed most representative of the “product” that Bahiatursa was trying to sell: “We sponsor our own carnival events in Bahia, in Brazil, and in the exterior around the year. We maintain a complete support infrastructure for *blocos*, *blocos afro*, *afoxés*, et cetera to put on a good show. This way you sell an appealing image of carnival.”¹⁵¹ He specifically cited in this context the *blocos afro* Olodum and Ilê Aiyê, groups known for celebrating their African heritage and adopting anti-hegemonic postures (particularly regarding Brazil’s social valuations of whiteness, and the racial balance of political power in Brazil). But their oppositional rhetoric has long been too deeply intertwined with the festive inversions of carnival, and too easily incorporated into messages of pride in Bahian culture itself, for their carnival to be more than a symbolic “stage for protest.”¹⁵²

¹⁵⁰ Emtursa, 1994: *O Salto da Qualidade do Carnaval de Salvador*, 8, 33-4.

¹⁵¹ “Turismo e Carnaval: Uma Estratégia de Ação do Estado da Bahia.”

¹⁵² Dunn (“Afro-Bahian Carnival: A Stage for Protest”) praised the revolutionary potential of the *blocos afro* twenty years ago in the rush of optimism among scholars following the anniversary of abolition in Brazil in 1988. But Ilê’s early discourse seemed to encourage reconciliation as much as transformation; their 1979 song “Vida Mais Linda (Most beautiful Life)” included the lines “Smiling in this beautiful life / You all have to see / The happy creoles of Ilê Aiyê / Come with me to see / The negro singing in nagô / All the people will applaud.” “‘Ilê Aiyê’, um bloco de raça aberto a gente de qualquer cor.”

A useful theoretical framework to explore this phenomenon—both its content and its mechanisms—is in the concept of *baianidade* (Bahian-ness), an attitude towards life and social relations ostensibly rooted in the customs of colonial Bahia as a large tropical sugar-based slavocracy. Its elements run through Jorge Amado's early guide to the city, *Bahia de Todos os Santos*, which praises Bahians as peaceful, musical, garrulous, sensual, creative, syncretic, and racially openminded.¹⁵³ Armstrong analyzed *baianidade* as a traditional and resilient form of sociability that both assuages social conflict and celebrates Bahian culture; through it the potential for social tension is minimized and resolved through the communal practice of falling back on notions of the special uniqueness of Bahian identity.¹⁵⁴ The state becomes the signifier of import, the repository of cultural essence (and the lowest but most important common denominator), although the term is also shot through with implicit racializations. In contemporary Brazil the notion of *baianidade* can be used in a negative sense, to buffer stereotypes, as when someone from faraway São Paulo might use the term to label an alleged aversion to hard work or seriousness among Bahians; in Salvador, street usage applies the term approvingly to displays of local culture deemed noteworthy (dance and music especially) or the voluptuousness of Afro-Bahian women. However, Brazilian critics have been stymied by the powers of *baianidade* to collapse diverse critical discourses into an emphasis on the positive through its attitude of minimizing and averting social

¹⁵³ Besides Amado, other important contributors to *baianidade* outside the context of modern carnival include photographer Pierre Verger, and visual artist Carybé.

¹⁵⁴ For him, *baianidade* captures "the typical sociability (cordiality, tolerance, indulgence, laziness, optimism, humor) and characteristic cultural praxes (*candomblé*, *capoeira*, extroverted street dancing, fashion, etc.) of Bahian society. It pertains essentially to the fertile plantation region around the city of Salvador and All Saints Bay... A crucial characteristic of *baianidade* is its rejection of or disengagement from social resentment. [One] factor in *baianidade* working against [this] resentment is its Utopian impulse. Bahia, informally referred to as the 'good earth' (*boa terra*) figures poetically as a paradise on earth." Armstrong, "The Aesthetic Escape Hatch," 69-73.

resentment or open conflict, as noted by Armstrong—particularly as this can seem to both placate and recruit the participation of Salvador’s majority poor Afro-Brazilian population, who find themselves rhetorically celebrated at every turn of the TV channel or radio dial while meaningful socioeconomic change seems never to arrive. Those scholars examine *baianidade* as a hegemonic force continually circulating through not just literature but popular music, carnival, movies, tourism strategies, and television *novelas*¹⁵⁵ (it should be recalled that the first adoption of Bahian carnival music into a *telenovela* was Moraes Moreira’s “Pombo Correio,” based on an earlier instrumental piece by Dodô and Osmar, released in 1976)¹⁵⁶ as well as diverse official projects. They argue that the mass mediation of its symbols joins the broader effects of carnivalization and a leisure economy based on tourism to create an echo chamber of identity rooted in *baianidade*—an artificial *habitus* which disciplines through its relentless festivity and its insistence on contentment, resulting in a form of social control to defuse any nascent unruliness among the majority poor Afro-Bahian masses.¹⁵⁷

The development and discursive participation of *axé music* does not provide a good way to test their allegation historically, because its impacts are unclear. Even before *axé music* came around, Bahians (indeed Brazilians as a whole) were never particularly prone to uprisings, or to organize around revolutionary factions or causes. But if this view

¹⁵⁵ These *telenovelas* amplifying the tropes of traditional Bahian identity were predominantly taken from premises of Jorge Amado’s works and include *Gabriela, Cravo e Canela*; *O Bem Amado*; *Tieta*; *Roque Santeiro*; *Porto dos Milagres*; *O Pagador de Promessas*; *Tenda dos Milagres*; *O Sorriso do Lagarto* (Pinto, “Como a Cidade de Salvador Empreende a Produção do Exótico,” 132).

¹⁵⁶ Moreira, *Sonhos Elétricos*, 43-4.

¹⁵⁷ The analysis of *baianidade* as *habitus* is in Pinto, “Como a Cidade de Salvador Empreende a Produção do Exótico.” Gey Espinheira called *baianidade* “an ideology that permits domination, that maintains most of the people in the most miserable conditions of life, marginalized from everything, but thinking they are valued... The population is large, diverse, fragmented, reeling in inequality; and the ideology of *baianidade* is poured over them like hot *azeite* (palm oil) to unite and equalize and contain them.” Espinheira, a sociologist at UFBA, was one of the most vehement critics of *baianidade*. “Mal-Estar na Baianidade: Perdas e Danos,” *Cadernos do CEAS*, 200 (July-August 2002), 79-98.

of *baianidade* as a hegemonic scheme among those with power to leverage culture both externally to attract tourists and internally to help maintain the viability of the local tourist attraction seems extreme, from another disciplinary perspective it is not too different from a method urban geographers have called “selling places.” This phrase captures the coordinated practices employed by culture and city managers around the world to attempt to both advertise a locale, and to engineer consensus within a diverse population. The rhetorics employed typically include an idealized, idyllic vision of the place and its uniqueness that is broadcast to outsiders (potential tourists, investors, et cetera) as well as the residents, and a more or less implicit summons to the people living within it to live up to, protect, and maintain the identity of the locale. In the case of Salvador, the goal of targeted discursive campaigns might be for locals to come to understand their culture in terms of valuing carnival’s freedom, festivity, and happiness; the importance of tourism; and the significance of their own role in maintaining the locale peaceful, festive, and hospitable.¹⁵⁸ *Axé music* both drew on and contemporized longstanding traits and connotations of Bahian identity, joining the tourism industry in amplifying messages conveying the state’s uniquely mystic, harmonious, and festive approaches to life—which implicitly endowed the residents with special rights and responsibilities to keep the party going, for themselves as well as for their visitors.

Of course, the notion of synchronous forces cloaked in the festivity of carnival and working to orient public opinion or entrain the public self-image throws into question

¹⁵⁸ As Gerry Kearns and Chris Philo note, the practice of place marketing or “selling places” has not only an economic logic but a “social logic... the self-promotion of places may be operating as a subtle form of socialisation designed to convince local people, many of whom will be disadvantaged and potentially disaffected, that they are important cogs in a successful community... Central to the activities subsumed under the heading of selling places is often a conscious and deliberate manipulation of culture in a effort to enhance the appeal and interest of places. In part this manipulation depends on promoting traditions, lifestyles and arts that are supposed to be locally rooted.” Kearns & Philo, eds., *Selling Places: The City as Cultural Capital, Past and Present* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1993), 3.

yet again the ideal of a carnival of popular participation in which “the people make the party” (*o povo faz a festa*). But if Salvador carnival’s discursive subtexts of participation were solidified in an earlier era of political constraint, and the localized urge to distinguish carnival from that of Rio de Janeiro, those currents were changing again to reflect the complete penetration of the market into the festival, and the insinuation of new hierarchies and stratifications based on class and race.

Beyond the particular desires of, or meanings generated by, any one *trio* band or *bloco* or government office, the coterminous interests of the carnival industry and the state and city tourism authorities were to use carnival to craft “consumers and citizens” out of Salvador’s public, a disparate aggregation of people that are mostly of some African descent, and mostly poor. In the 1990s, many of them or their parents or grandparents were migrants from the drought-stricken interior in search of better lives. Some of them were also the children of the first generation of skilled Afro-Bahians working in the oil and petrochemical industries, young people who were educated through high school and inspired by their parents’ relative success but who could find no employment themselves in the face of rapid population growth and the economic strictures of the *real* plan.¹⁵⁹ Since 1950, the city’s population has grown by a factor of 5—from around 417,000 in 1950 (growing faster than Rio de Janeiro and Recife between 1950 and 1970)¹⁶⁰ to just under 2.5 million in 2010. Salvador, today the third most populous city in Brazil, is also its most dense, with an average of 9,000 residents per

¹⁵⁹ Lívio Sansone, “O Pelourinho dos Jovens Negro-Mestiços de Classe Baixa da Grande Salvador,” in Marco Aurélio E. de Filgueiras Gomes, ed., *Pelo Pelô: História, Cultura e Cidade* (Salvador: UFBA, 1995), 62.

¹⁶⁰ The high rate of immigration seen especially in the decade of the 1940s was slowing by 1970, but the population continued to grow due to natural growth. Vilmar E. Faria, “Divisão inter-regional do trabalho e pobreza urbana: O caso de Salvador,” in *Bahia de Todos os Pobres* (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1980), eds. Guaraci Adeodato, A. de Souza and Vilmar Faria.

square kilometer.¹⁶¹ Presently, according to the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics, 33% of the people within city limits live in improvised housing (shantytowns or *favelas*) with precarious links to water, electricity, sanitation, and other services.¹⁶² This is an improvement, but only a slight one, of the rate of 40% in 1970.¹⁶³ Carnival, the carnival industry, and the tourism industry offered both tangibles—the prospect of individual economic opportunities—and at the same time a balancing intangible sense of orientation, of belonging to something larger. But Salvador also needed to appeal to outsiders who would bring money and increase local cachet. Tourist attractions need to be stable, and be experienced reliably “as advertised.” In an urban panorama of relatively high unemployment and low development, *axé music* and tourism alike had a public relations function, producing symbols and discourses for both internal and external consumption, based on a shared set of signifiers and values that shaped assumptions, behaviors, and culture production throughout the entire year.

Having examined aspects of the rhetoric of *axé music* we might briefly consider some of the parallel initiatives among the tourism industry explicitly intended to influence the local population. Starting in the mid-late 1970s, Bahiatursa launched an initiative explicitly called *conscientização turística*, which is roughly similar to “raising consciousness about tourism” (*levando consciência sobre turismo*) but the psychological implications are deeper. Among the earliest documented records of these projects designed to persuade locals of the benefits of tourism were the broadcasting of lectures by local public historian Cid Teixeira “on the importance of tourism for the development

¹⁶¹ “Salvador tem a maior densidade populacional do Brasil,” *A Tarde* (Salvador), 01 September 2008.

¹⁶² “882 mil pessoas vivem em ocupações irregulares na capital baiana, diz o IBGE,” *A Tarde* (Salvador), 22 December 2011.

¹⁶³ Francisco de Oliveira, “Salvador: Os exilados da opulência,” in *Bahia de Todos os Pobres*, 24.

of the country” everyday at 8:00 pm, in late 1975 and early 1976, on Bahia’s public radio station.¹⁶⁴ Later that year, Bahiatursa launched a “campaign of touristic *conscientização*” whose slogan was “Receive Tourists Well (*Recebe Bem o Turista*),” that would receive broad diffusion through the state’s media channels: “The project represents a huge step in making Bahia’s traditional hospitality more alive and contemporary.”¹⁶⁵ Bahiatursa president Paulo Gaudenzi envisioned such campaigns as a way to “clarify the situation” for the people and unite the city: “not just the authorities in the sector, but the sanitation crews, the police, all the public services. Equally responsible is private initiative in the form of restaurants, hotels, commerce, communications... the population as a whole is summoned to participate in this movement, which affirms traditional Bahian culture and traditional Bahian hospitality.”¹⁶⁶ In 1977, Gaudenzi called for tourism as the platform for broad educational and disciplinary functions to preserve the viability of the state as tourist attraction: “Residents and visitors alike consume and enjoy these popular traditions... It is vital to preserve them, perfect them, and promote them so that they will continue to spark visitors’ curiosity and interest. It is the responsibility of all Bahians to protect local culture and values. Bahia will be highly sought out and beautiful as long as its people know how to live in harmony with its essence.”¹⁶⁷

From this view, Bahia might have a sort of intrinsic “vocation for tourism,”¹⁶⁸ but the state’s people were still rough and needed polishing. In 1985, tourism booster Alfredo C. Macedo Costa lamented that “most of the population remains inert and indifferent to tourism; government and private interests alike must unite to transform them and adapt

¹⁶⁴ “A aula de Cid,” *ViverBahia* 28, January 1976, 22.

¹⁶⁵ “Conscientização turística,” *ViverBahia* 34-5, July-August 1976, 34.

¹⁶⁶ Paulo Gaudenzi, “Saudade Neles.”

¹⁶⁷ Paulo Gaudenzi, “Os Dengos da Bahia.”

¹⁶⁸ Bahiatursa, *Bahiatursa: Relatório de Atividades 1979-1987*, 12.

them to reality.”¹⁶⁹ Well before the mass-mediated *axé* boom of the early 1990s, Costa was calling for the state tourism agency to learn from business marketing strategy and develop broad-based campaigns incorporating “audio-visual presentations, music, television, radio, movies, posters, billboards, all to directly reach the resident-consumer wherever he happens to be.” This would help constitute a “civilizing process” for the raw material of society, “informing their way of life, helping them fix and absorb the importance of their cultural and historic patrimony. They will learn respect and responsibility, the values of their citizenship extending from the local community to the tourist population.” While carnival themes exhorted pride and happiness (figure 10), city brandings by Bahiatursa and Emtursa / Saltur included *Sorria, Você está na Bahia* (Smile, You’re in Bahia); *Bahia: Vive Esta Festa* (Bahia: Live this Festival); *Orgulho de Ser Baiano* (Proud to be Bahian); *Bahia, Terra de Todos Nós* (Bahia, Land of All of Us) and *Salvador, Cidade da Alegria* (Salvador, City of Happiness). In 2000, to mark five hundred years since Brazil’s founding in Bahia, and fifty years of the *trio elétrico*, the slogan was *A Alegria Também Começou Aqui* (The Happiness Also Began Here). Beyond attempts to channel people’s local pride and their desire for gratification within these “socializing” master tropes, public embrace of these hospitable qualities was facilitated through the sympathetic pressures of the marketplace—job opportunities offered by the tourist and *axé* industries in particular.

¹⁶⁹ Alfredo C. Macedo Costa, “Conscientização Turística,” *Algumas Reflexões Sobre o Turismo na Bahia* (Salvador: Empresa Gráfica da Bahia, 1985), 102-107. The book was published by the official state press.

Figure 10: Carnival themes (2000, 2003, 2005). Source: Relatório Covers, SaITur, Salvador.



“Salvador da Bahia: The Carnival of Brazil / Bahia, Brazil was born here”



“Happiness, the Spice of Bahia”



“Carnival in Bahia, More Happiness Each Year”

Improved accounting methods allowed economists and tourism analysts to determine the financial effects of carnival on everything from hotels, restaurants and taxi usage to local beer and ice production, as well as audio contractors, *trio* mechanics, stage hands, and street vendors, providing champions of the carnival economy with nuggets of data to help them persuade. 35,000 jobs were supposed to be created by carnival in 1995;¹⁷⁰ in 1996, 50,000;¹⁷¹ in 2003, 184,000;¹⁷² and in 2005, 220,000.¹⁷³ 220,000 jobs seems to have become the default number, since it has varied little in the carnival records of SalTur through 2010. These numbers appear inspiring, but do not reveal that most of the work is relatively unskilled and temporary, such as being a security guard, working a refreshment stand, or joining sanitation crews.¹⁷⁴ Other examples of pick-up work include sewing or printing *abadá* costumes ordered by the *blocos*, but this is increasingly outsourced to cheaper laborers in São Paulo. And being a *cordeiro*—wearing thick leather gloves to bear the friction of the heavy rope separating a private *bloco* from the rest of the multitudes, the ultimate symbol of carnival’s privatization and lack of “democracy”—was the single highest employment category listed under temporary carnival employment in Emtursa’s records for 2005.¹⁷⁵

Carnival employment was better than nothing, if those jobs are the only options presented to an underprivileged resident, but working for low wages (sometimes around the clock during the festival days) so that others who are better off may play is spun by carnival’s marketers as “affirming a logic of survival that transcends the dichotomy

¹⁷⁰ Emtursa, 1994: *O Salto da Qualidade do Carnaval de Salvador*, s/n.

¹⁷¹ Tânia Fischer, “Carnaval Baiano: Megaorganização, teia de negócios, atores estratégicas,” in *O Carnaval Baiano*, 15.

¹⁷² “Carnaval deve gerar 185 mil empregos diretos,” *Correio da Bahia*, 15 February 2004

¹⁷³ “Carnaval, folia de negócios e empregos,” *A Tarde* (Salvador), 12 February 2006.

¹⁷⁴ In 2003 carnival generated over 1,500 tons of trash, a near-6% increase over 2002. *Relatório do Carnaval de 2003*, 107.

¹⁷⁵ *Anexos do Relatório do Carnaval 2005*.

between work and pleasure”¹⁷⁶ and “amplifying the horizons of a significant part of Salvador’s population... the festival has allowed the creation of an authentic industry of happiness, drawing for raw material on the talent, creativity, and energy of the Bahian people.”¹⁷⁷ These human resources were part of Bahia’s so-called vocation for tourism. That the people could rhetorically be described as “loving their work and working in what they love, as in no other part of the world,”¹⁷⁸ signified how elite interest in fostering civic attitudes toward work, tourism and cultural patrimony intertwined with the carnival industry and *baianidade*.

The tourist industry was by the early 1980s firmly in charge of carnival administrative structures. Tourists became the most desired type of reveler to appear on the streets and on television screens alongside Salvador’s own “pretty people” in the *blocos*. They best fit the theoretical models in carnival’s cohering systems of economic democracy, logics of globalization, and market-based popularity: they could be counted, their spending measured, their consumption compared according to region or nation of origin, their opinions and preferences surveyed, providing more succulent data than the great indiscriminate masses of *pipoca* (“popcorn,” revelers outside of *blocos* who are and have historically been overwhelmingly poor and Afro-Bahian). By the 2000s, Salvador’s municipal tourism agency was keeping track of which nationalities of tourists were most highly represented among people making inquiries at tourist kiosks, the better to facilitate targeted marketing in those countries later.¹⁷⁹ Emtursa also was performing surveys, not

¹⁷⁶ Liola & Miguez, “Lúdicos mistérios da economia do carnaval baiano: Trama de redes e inovações,” 54.

¹⁷⁷ “Batucada é coisa séria,” *Carnaval Já É* (2006), 33.

¹⁷⁸ “Batucada é coisa séria,” *Carnaval Já É* (2006), 33.

¹⁷⁹ In 2005, for instance, at the information booth at the famed Lacerda Elevator, Brazil was the dominant tourist emitter (1,175) followed by France (183), Argentina (146), Israel (144), Spain (90), Chile (88), Italy (77) and the U.S. (75). Venezuela, Madagascar, Hungary, and Cuba were each represented by one tourist. *Anexos do Relatório do Carnaval 2005*, accessed at the archives of SalTur.

just of consumption and impressions of the city, but of the tourists' awareness of the festival's principal corporate sponsors.¹⁸⁰ Emtursa could gain a sense, through relationships with the airlines and bus companies, how many people were arriving from which locations; in 2005, 85.6% of tourists were Brazilian (principally from around Bahia, followed by São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais) and carnival-related tourism brought in just over \$87 million dollars to the city.¹⁸¹

Tourists represented the influx of currency to the city—both cultural and capital. It was therefore necessary to protect the tourists from those unstable residents of Salvador who had not adapted to living in the “City of Happiness” and might harm them or steal from them. Even the locals, when they were given an opportunity in the late 2000s to express opinions on their carnival experience to Emtursa (in a program called “Salvador Wants to Hear From You”), cited as the strongest negative “violence in carnival” (20%), particularly in Barra.¹⁸² But those were people who had participated in carnival regardless of their fears or dissatisfactions. A more broadbased survey of local residents after 2009 carnival, performed independently by a state economics research agency, discovered that among locals who did not participate in the festival that year the single largest determining factor was a perceived lack of safety in public spaces (47.1%).¹⁸³

The worrisome issues of violence and crime in carnival and in the city itself were rarely raised directly by boosters, for obvious reasons. Yet they were deep and chronic

¹⁸⁰ In 2001, a survey of 267 Brazilian tourists found that 25.8% of them identified Credicard, 15.7% LG, 14.2% Schincariol, 12% Brahma, and smaller percentages of them listed 37 more corporate sponsors (*Relatório do Carnaval de 2001*: “Pesquisas de opinião pública”).

¹⁸¹ *Anexos do Relatório do Carnaval 2005*, “Fluxo turístico e geração de receita.”

¹⁸² *Relatório do Carnaval de 2007*, Ouvidoria Geral do Município de Salvador, “Questão aberta: Pontos positivos e negativos.” The results may not be broadly representative of all the demographic groups taking part in carnival; research was held over four days between 11 am and 7 pm in four central districts and two outer neighborhoods where the city held festivities. 914 people were interviewed, out of an estimated 1.5 million revelers that year.

¹⁸³ *Comportamento dos Residentes em Salvador no Carnaval 2009*, 9.

problems, related to Salvador's underlying social inequalities. Oliveira Pinto, in research of criminality in Salvador over recent decades, found that while it might appear that violent crime was decreasing from 1960 through the 1980s, because the combined percentages of reported homicides and assaults went down (41.5%, 36.5%, and 30.5% for the respective decades), homicide rates actually were increasing significantly every decade (17.7%, 21.8%, and 29.5%). Mugging took first place in the 1980s for most common crime (33.1% at that time, up from 3.8% in the 1960s) only because the contemporary wave of personal theft was so massive.¹⁸⁴ Over the 1980s Salvador's population roughly doubled while the rate of increase of mugging and robbery was 2,777%. He concluded that the problem was not merely rapid urban population growth but the increasingly inescapable "social contradictions" in the city at the time, in which "opulence and wealth contrasted ferociously with misery." And he suggested that tourism's collisions of social classes had a facilitating effect, particularly in the 1980s just as carnival was expanding toward the national *axé* boom.

Violence and other criminality in carnival had been noted before. Osmar's sons recalled that late one night during 1975 carnival, Dodô, on his way home, found himself surrounded by muggers. But when they realized who it was, they not only let him go but thanked him for his role in creating a festival that brought multitudes together in public spaces, a scenario which had proved very profitable for them.¹⁸⁵ Carnival was often the scene of brawls, which might start between two people but could quickly erupt into a melee involving dozens. The extremity of the police response was also notorious, as

¹⁸⁴ 90% of criminals prosecuted in the 1980s were men under 30. Luiz Hosanna de Oliveira Pinto, "O Assalto na cidade do axé: Evolução da Criminalidade Urbana em Salvador entre 1960 e 1989" (Masters thesis, Universidade Federal da Bahia, 1996), 106-108, 121.

¹⁸⁵ Moreira, *Sonhos Elétricos*, 36.

nightsticks were generously applied to anyone who might have been involved. The Trio Elétrico Dodô and Osmar initiated the practice of stopping the music when they observed a fight to call attention to it, and refusing to resume performing until it stopped. In 1979 Osmar and Moreira recorded a song, “Alegria Desafia a Violência” (“Happiness Challenges Violence”), explicitly urging festivity over violence in carnival. The title puns on the word *desafiar*, which is to challenge, but also suggests happiness has the capacity to turn off or unplug violence (from undoing the *fio*, an electric cable).¹⁸⁶ Moreira repeated the theme in a later song, “Por Que Parou, Parou Por Que (Why’d You Stop, You Stopped Why)” whose chorus he based on a preexisting spontaneous crowd chant that had been going up when the *trio* paused. He answered: “I stopped because I saw violence / I stopped because I saw confusion / We have to get to the bottom of this / Disarm the police, disarm the crooks / I stopped to pay attention.”¹⁸⁷

Local observers tended to publicly attribute the troubling incidence of violence in carnival to factors particular to the event, avoiding clear reference to wider structural factors in society: the masses of people squeezed together; the effects of the *trios*’ loud frenetic music; and the flexibility left to the *trios* in their own route scheduling, such that different *trios* and their followers might inadvertantly intersect and create a clogged impasse leading to tensions.¹⁸⁸ The latter factor was resolved a decade later, with the implementation of established, one-way routes for the *trios* to prevent spontaneous

¹⁸⁶ On the LP *Viva Dodô & Osmar* (Continental, 1.01.404.210, 1979).

¹⁸⁷ Moraes Moreira, Guilherme Maia and Luiz Brasil, “Por Que Parou, Parou Por Que (Why’d You Stop, You Stopped Why),” on *Baiano Fala Cantando* (CBS, 1988).

¹⁸⁸ “Carnaval baiano centenário,” *A Tarde* (Salvador), 20 February 1983. As early as 1975, Gilberto Gil contrasted what he called the “violent, lacerating” effects of *trios* with the spirituality of the *afoxés* and called for *trio* musicians to play more slowly. “Um papo,” *ViverBahia* 29, February 1976, 15.

encounters.¹⁸⁹ By 2010, it was a requirement for every *trio* vehicle to be fitted with a GPS system, ostensibly to facilitate revelers who happened to be online in finding the location of the *trio*, but more likely for the city to monitor their movements.¹⁹⁰ But given the racialized profiles of both poverty and criminality in Salvador, race was an ever-present subtext in discussions of violence. In mid-February of 1980, a large public-interest advertisement placed by the bakery chain Pães Mendonça in the newspaper *A Tarde* showed a *surdo* (bass drum) with the slogan “Only he deserves to get hit. This carnival, play, don’t fight” (see figure 11).

The implicit racial ascriptions were conveyed in the drum itself, a characteristic instrument of both samba schools and the *blocos afro*; and in the disembodied black fist above it holding a mallet about to strike the drum, its faceless owner’s violent tendencies properly domesticated and routed into festive and profitable culture production. The ad served—with the characteristic blunt subtlety of *baianidade*—to emphasize what, or who, the source of the problem was. Its large size, occupying most of one whole sheet of newsprint, commands attention.

¹⁸⁹ By the late 1990s, the attempt to rationalize carnival into an ordered sequence of events—especially during the day, when cameras were filming in specific locations—led to the onset of precise allotments of time allowed for different categories of groups of different size to get from one point to another. Threats of disciplinary action were soon added. In 2001, the largest *blocos de trio* were given precisely 35 minutes (with a five-minute margin) to pass a defined space along Campo Grande, a municipal park. For every ten minutes a *bloco* delayed, it would forfeit one place in line during the next year’s carnival—a punishment based on notions of prestige in public processions going back to the colonial era. Other penalties were rarely spelled out in the documentation I saw at SalTur, although in the 2008 *Relatório* it was made clear that for the gravest infractions (willful delays of twenty minutes or more), the Ethics Commission of the Municipal Carnival Council maintained the right to summo the military police to remove the offending “entity” (*Relatório do Carnaval de 2008*, “Codigo de Ética das Infrações,” 6).

¹⁹⁰ *Relatório do Carnaval de 2010*, “GPS nos trios,” 11.



Figure 11: “Play, Don’t Fight.” Source: *A Tarde* (Salvador), 16 February 1980.

The early 2000s saw new levels of crime in the city, with a surge in in micro-kidnapping.¹⁹¹ In 2001 rumors of mobs running rampant in shopping centers led the city’s main malls to temporarily close.¹⁹² That year, wide concerns about violence in carnival led city hall to declare the theme “Carnaval da Paz (Carnival of Peace).” The mayor, Antônio Imbassahy, noting that there had been a campaign to mobilize artists, *blocos*, private enterprise, and wider society around the values of peace, declared “It is fundamental that everyone says no to violence in order to celebrate in happiness and

¹⁹¹ This is briefly taking a hostage to use or steal his or her credit and bank cards. “Sequestro relâmpago aumenta na Bahia,” *A Tarde* (Salvador), 02 September 2001. Worsening matters that year was a strike by the military and civil police in Bahia; federal troops took over Salvador in July.

¹⁹² “Lojas e shoppings permanecem fechados para evitar saques,” *Correio da Bahia*, 14 July 2001.

peace, as the Bahians always knew how to do (*como o baiano sempre soube fazer*).”¹⁹³

This rhetoric set up a distinction between the true or genuine Bahians, and the troublemakers who did not know how to be a proper resident of the state and its capital. Keeping the festival peaceful was shot through with the values of civic education and patriotism; violence and disorder were the unwelcome manifestations of an “other” associated neither with authentic Bahia, nor with the tourists who were there to celebrate the nation’s favorite carnival. The idea that violence was a problem coming in from outside to affect “our carnival” was repeated in 2003, when the public Campaign to Prevent Violence mounted billboards in the city referring to troublemakers as primitive and uncool, commanding “Don’t ruin our carnival. Celebrate in peace.” And the governor (Paulo Souto), Secretary of Public Security, and Bahia State Military Police attempted to increase public support of and respect for the police during carnival by jointly publishing a free educational comic book on the role of police forces in not just keeping carnival revelers safe but, as one grateful elderly lady says to an officer clutching a dark-skinned n’er-do-well, “giving us the certainty that we are citizens” (figure 12). Another character, after seeing some troops break up a skirmish, affirms “It’s great to feel the security from police actions like this, and be able to enjoy carnival like any citizen. As the people say, ‘The police are the guarantee of a great carnival’!”¹⁹⁴

¹⁹³ *Relatório do Carnaval 2001: O Carnaval da Paz*, foreward. In order to symbolize the inherent innocence and peacefulness of carnival, that year the key to the city (to rule during the event) was given not to a King Momo but to a five-year-old child.

¹⁹⁴ *Um Carnaval Legal*, educational comic book; included in the *Relatório do Carnaval de 2003*.



Figure 12: Making carnival safe for citizens.

Source: *Um Carnaval Legal*, 2003 (SalTur, Salvador).

Ironically, this was just what Roberto da Matta had described as being the lowest form of citizenship in Brazil, according to national social values. An individual's lack of power (resources, prestige, connections) rendered him or her vulnerable, a "nobody," and reliant for safety only on the whim of impersonal, salaried law enforcement.¹⁹⁵ If the reality behind this pessimistic analysis of the relationship between people, institutions, and values in Brazil was transforming in a more progressive way through the power of the carnival of popular participation, it was difficult to discern.

By contrast, in 2006, the iconic local / international star Carlinhos Brown, in an audacious move that few other artists would likely been comfortable taking,¹⁹⁶ lashed out

¹⁹⁵ Roberto da Matta, "The Quest for Citizenship in a Relational Universe."

¹⁹⁶ Brown had come up through the 1980s in WR Studios as a busy session percussionist and composer, ultimately selling his own songs to Caetano Veloso and U.S.-based Sergio Mendes. In 1991, he started his own carnival group Timbalada, which over the course of recordings and performances became a smash hit in Salvador, in Brazil, and globally (including shows in Europe and the U.S.). An Afro-Bahian with an inventive focus on percussion, Brown rejects calling Timbalada a *bloco afro*, preferring the global term "afropop;" he maintained ties with his poor neighborhood of Candeal, basing his music studio, performance space, and music school there, while investing heavily from the Timbalada *bloco* receipts in infrastructure such as sewers, power lines, street paving, and community centers. His social work through music has been

during carnival about deeper problems underlying the persistent violence. He had stopped his *trio*'s performance because of numerous fights, coincidentally right in front of the city's most luxurious and expensive viewing boxes in Barra, which that night contained Bahian musician Gilberto Gil—then serving as federal Culture Minister under president Lula—and his entourage. Departing from *baianidade*'s rules of smiling cordiality and deference, Brown assumed the microphone and addressed Gil personally with an accusatory finger. “The people need education year round, not just investment for seven days of partying. You authorities have to resolve this, you hear me? The media needs to film this chaos, not hide it. This here is the authentic Bahia. People come here and think everything is paradise, then act surprised when this happens. All of you, hey Gil, have to do better to help the people, and you can start with getting rid of this fucking apartheid” (gesturing to to the elite viewing box where the Minister sat).¹⁹⁷ But the fact is that Brown himself believed in the potential of Salvador's carnival as a peaceful celebration of local racial harmony. On a 1997 Timbalada album, he included the boosterish song “Me Perdoa, Brasil (Forgive Me, Brazil),” which claimed “Every day is happiness / Carnival in Bahia is that way... / Come here / Whatever your skin color / Here no one is refused / It's pure mixture / Come to ease the pain / Prejudice doesn't exist here / This is the best Brazilian carnival.”¹⁹⁸ It was the equality and happiness of “every day,” in this song-world, that was ritually celebrated in Salvador's carnival and that made it the best of the country. But Brown's own participation in constructing Salvador as an idealized city

the focus of several international documentary films, and while he is a fixture of carnival, his pop music career provides him an unusual degree of autonomy from the festival's local power structures.

¹⁹⁷ “Carlinhos Brown critica violência e cobra Gilberto Gil,” *UOL Últimas Notícias* (Reuters), 26 February 2006.

¹⁹⁸ Nina Brito. Jaime Bahia, Guará, and Dega, “Me Perdoa, Brasil,” recorded by Timbalada on *Mãe de Samba*.

of equality through carnival clearly had limitations, and unlike many of his colleagues in *axé music* Brown embodied, not sidestepped, the inherent contradictions.

For their part, the stagers and marketers of carnival responded to the violence principally in three ways. First, they talked carefully around the problem in coded language to tourists, while simultaneously minimizing it with recourse to the exclusive *blocos de trio*. Adolfo Nery, president of the Municipal Carnival Council, enthusiastically affirmed in 1995: “The *blocos* are spaces where tourists can divert themselves in a more secure way, one that provides infrastructure and comfort. Once they see what fun it is, they’ll come back the next year with more friends, and carnival will keep growing.”¹⁹⁹ References to security and comfort were all elite Brazilians needed to understand that the *blocos* provided safety from Salvador’s thieves and gropers and underclass in general. In a different manner that nearly explicitly acknowledges crime, then quickly disavows it for another problem, Bahiatursa’s carnival magazine offers this pointer for visitors who consider joining the masses of *pipoca* on the sidewalk: “Redouble your precautions, take only a small amount of money and a photocopy of your identification; leave jewelry and your camera in the hotel safe. The problem with being among the *pipoca* is that the sidewalks get so full that there is very little room to dance.”²⁰⁰ The most serious problem with experiencing carnival amongst the poor masses is apparently a lack of physical space for self-expression. The text discreetly left the real problem unarticulated, but still obvious to most Brazilian readers. At the same time, this type of discourse most clearly shows how the joy offered by Salvador’s carnival of the 1970s being in the masses was giving way to constructing the multitudes as an anonymous platform to re-distinguish the

¹⁹⁹ Emtursa, 1994: *O Salto de Qualidade*, 9. Emphasis added.

²⁰⁰ “Atrás do trio elétrico só não vai,” *Carnaval Já É* (2006), 13.

elites as a powerful, exclusive caste—a caste whose very dancing deserved more space, to be performed and to be observed.

Second, security was increased. According to a local policeman, an event such as this challenges police administrators to move from an older paradigm of “control,” in which the masses are conceived as representing a threat to society since they provide anonymity to “antisocial elements,” to one of “management which emphasizes proactive targeted policing and the view that the masses are mostly pacific, coming together with shared interests, while antisocial behavior is limited to individuals.”²⁰¹ But in praising the special training of the civil and military police for carnival in 2006, Governor Paulo Souto was inadvertently emphasizing the scale of the the perceived threat (and echoing the concern of some conservative midcentury folklorists with regard to the revolutionary potential of the folk): “It takes special, precise measures to ensure that the multitudes on the street do not transform happiness into tumult.”²⁰² In other words, carnival’s spontaneity and liberty had to be carefully guarded and constrained.

It is difficult to systematically compare levels of policing for carnival historically because they were erratically recorded in the early years, and distorted by other security concerns during the military dictatorship. For instance, according to public reporting, in 1975 10,000 officers and inspectors²⁰³ policed the event; in 1976, it was 4,276 officers;²⁰⁴

²⁰¹ He suggests there has been a philosophical shift from acts of force by the police in the public setting (water hoses, beating, associated with dictatorial regimes) to pervasive demonstrations of the police presence. The irony is that, the further Brazil and Salvador proceed into the present democratic era, there will be more and more police visible on the streets during carnival as opposed to a less visible presence and harsher reactions to perceived threats. Antonio Jorge Ferreira Melo, “Do Controle de Distúrbios Cívicos ao Gerenciamento de Multidões Festivas: Uma Análise da Evolução dos Padrões de Policiamento Ostensivo no Carnaval de Salvador,” Masters diss., Federal University of Bahia, 2008,

²⁰² “O carnaval é a maior expressão da cultura popular da Bahia,” *Carnaval Já É* (2006), 5-6.

²⁰³ “Dez mil homens para garantir o carnaval,” *Diário de Notícias*, 05 February 1975.

²⁰⁴ “Irmãos no suor,” *Diário de Notícias*, 28 February 1976.

and in 1995, 9,000.²⁰⁵ There is no clear reason why such a drop should have occurred in 1976. Wildly diverging numbers likely also derive from how different types of agencies were included in what was vaguely called “*policciamento* (policing).” Numbers seem more consistent for the later period. For 1996, according to Francisco Netto, state secretary of public security, the police’s viewing platforms (which date to the early 1980s) were joined by complete mini-stations erected at points along the circuits to operate around the clock, and technology including metal detectors, live-streaming video cameras, and even satellites was deployed in public areas.²⁰⁶ Netto also referred to “operation fine-toothed comb,” intended to “cleanse the streets of known offenders” before the festival began.²⁰⁷ By 2000, carnival’s security force had increased to 15,009 military troops and 2,746 civil troops²⁰⁸ for a total of 17,755, nearly twice that of 1996—a rapid jump given historical precedents and likely based on the expanding tourist presence embedded in carnival’s growth.²⁰⁹ In 2009 the police introduced the use of *jaulas* (portable cages to hold suspects) and electrified stun guns, innovations which SalTur noted generated ample bad press before carnival but not during it, and they cited

²⁰⁵ Emtursa, 1994: *O Salto da Qualidade*, s/n.

²⁰⁶ “Carnaval com segurança,” *Bahia Análise & Dados* vol. 5 #4 March 1996, 28-9.

²⁰⁷ It is unclear to what scale that sort of pre-carnival sweep of known criminals has occurred historically, but similar action was referred to in a 1976 article intended to help orient and reassure tourists: “Take precautions against being robbed, because even though the worst offenders will have already been collected by the police, in the loose atmosphere of carnival other thieves will be hard at work.” “Recomendações aos turistas,” *Diário de Notícias*, 12 February 1976.

²⁰⁸ *Relatório do Carnaval de 2000*, section 24.11: Polícia Militar (among the listed responsibilities of the police were “escorting tourists, artists, and authorities”) and section 24.13: Polícia Civil.

²⁰⁹ While Salvador’s officials routinely state that local carnival saw less violence than Rio’s—a claim impossible to independently verify—in 2000 there were recorded 2 homicides, 720 muggings, 196 stabbings, and 127 robberies over the festival’s six days; a significant list of disruptions, but given the numbers of people involved it could certainly have been worse. In 2005, Emtursa reported no homicides but 1,846 arrests related to public brawling; 1,164 events of mugging or pickpocketing; 265 people wounded; and the apprehension of 36 knives and 11 guns (*Relatório do Carnaval 2005*); in their assessment, the widespread use of security cameras as well as plainclothed officers helped reduce the violence by 11% related to 2004.

the lack of homicides during the event that year as evidence of the methods' viability. Troop levels that year dipped to 16,207 in the city for the festival.²¹⁰

Another effort to increase the surveillance of the carnival space was launched by Emtursa in 2006. The city had long employed ranks of inspectors during carnival to oversee public activities, assure that *trio* vehicles were licensed and functioning, assess infrastructure, and even take notes on the job performance of other city employees. But now inspectors were observing and recording issues related to specific carnival attractions themselves, who were supposed to be setting an example of peaceful happiness for the masses. Many of the "occurrences" listed were technical problems, e.g. dropped cords, a malfunctioning audio system, or vehicle problems. But the behavior of the cord carriers was watched intently, and inspectors noted them drinking and fighting with the crowd. But they focused most on the performers, writing the date, time and location in particular of "manifestations"—when an artist publicly praised, thanked, or critiqued any political or carnival authority—and "disciplinary notes," which described an artist breaking the rules, or causing a scene. As the representatives of *baianidade*, *axé* musicians were having their behavior policed. It is unclear what the ramifications of these records might have been, but we can see that Carlinhos Brown apologized publicly to Gilberto Gil exactly an hour after his frustrated outburst regarding the public violence.²¹¹

Third, there was an increasingly explicit division erected between the carnival of the principal routes of Centro and Barra—domain of the *blocos de trio*, the celebrity

²¹⁰ *Diagnóstico Mercadológico do Carnaval 2009*, 45.

²¹¹ Brown's speech and later apology were recorded as "manifestations," at 12:29 am and 1:29 am respectively, by an inspector identified as Lourenzo. *Relatório do Carnaval de 2006: Sistema de Ocorrências – Emtursa, Histórico de Entidade*. Compliments were noted: two days later, it was recorded that Tatau, singer of Ara Ketu, "made an homage to Minister Gilberto Gil," and in 2007, the singer of Broder "Praised Emtursa." But in 2006 another *trio* stayed so long in front of a camera post for TV Bandeirantes that a carnival coordinator, joined by a military police captain, boarded the vehicle and forced it to proceed.

artists, and other tourist attractions—and the “neighborhoods.” In the early 1950s, the neighborhoods were nuclei of vibrant carnival celebration themselves, and both the city and private companies had perceived a benefit in performing a sort of outreach by sending performers including Dodô and Osmar to these areas that were relatively distant from the main downtown circuit. The staged presentations interacted with local carnival culture, and offered prizes to local groups. The program was at once a recognition, stimulation, and commercialization of local festivity, in that it relied heavily on private sponsors, and took advantage of a substantial resident consumer base. But the massive growth of official carnival, including the addition of Barra-Ondina in the 1980s, was coming at a cost to many of Salvador’s more outlying and humbler neighborhoods, which were also going through transformations related to larger economic and demographic shifts and the breakup of older community bonds. Some of those neighborhoods were no longer so active in producing their own carnival culture, while other forces—the privatization of revelry through the *blocos de trio*, the violence plaguing the festival, a focus on tourists as the most highly desired “citizens” of carnival, and the underlying growth patterns of Salvador itself—also contributed to a shift in how the program of “Carnival in the Neighborhoods” was conceived.

On the other hand, several of the neighborhoods included in the mid-1950s, Rio Vermelho, Pituba, and Barra, had grown tremendously in socioeconomic significance as the “stable” city (of commerce and investment, versus the unstable city of invasions and improvised housing) expanded towards the beach around them. As districts circling the beach, with a longstanding middle-class residence base, they were no longer viewed as distinct and separate places from carnival proper by the 1980s. Barra was absorbed into

carnival starting in the early 1980s, and certainly by the 1970s Pituba had its own vibrant “new tradition” of pre-carnival festivities.²¹² Rio Vermelho, site of the Yemanjá festival and home to many artists and bohemians, also was holding pre-carnival events, but its connection to carnival was cemented in 2008 when a fluke of the Easter calendar made carnival coincide with its most important local festival day, 02 February (day of Yemanjá). Although *trios* were prohibited during that festival, there was a large stage and numerous street performances in the so-called “carnival for Yemanjá” one day before and two days after the traditional festival on the beach.²¹³ Local events have continued in carnivals after 2008, if to a lesser scale.

Of all of the neighborhoods, Liberdade was the only one that had been included in the 1950s that is still a part of contemporary programs. Its demographic profile—mostly lower-class, and overwhelmingly Afro-Bahian (it is also the second largest neighborhood in Salvador after the even poorer Cajazeiras district)—gives a hint of how the “carnival in the neighborhoods” program had changed over the years, and why Liberdade was a constant in it.²¹⁴ Emtursa began to suggest the new imperative of the program in 1995, when it noted that it had expanded the program to more neighborhoods in an attempt to relieve some of the pressure and infrastructural demands of the principal circuit.²¹⁵ By 2000, Emtursa’s documents were more blunt: “The ‘carnival in the neighborhoods’

²¹² Pituba, a middle-class neighborhood in southeastern Salvador near the beach, had been expanding quickly since the 1960s. In 1973 the washing of its church, Nossa Senhora da Luz, featured dozens of *baianas* and several *trios elétrico*, orchestras, and *maskarados* in what was called “a rehearsal for carnival” uniting thousands of people. “Lavagem da Igreja da Pituba mostrou como será o carnaval.”

²¹³ *Relatório do Carnaval de 2008*, “Carnaval para Yemanjá.” Emtursa’s Events Director, Paulo Carvalho, said that the “happy coincidence makes possible the creation of a new space for the largest popular festival in the world.”

²¹⁴ Locations after 1998 regularly included Liberdade, Plataforma, Periperi, Pau de Lima, Itapuã, and Cajazeiras, with occasional presences in Boca do Rio, Engenho Velho de Brotas, Fazenda Grande do Retiro, Itapagipe, Cabula VI, Largo do Papagaio and Praça Cayru.

²¹⁵ The aim was “promovendo-se a desconcentração do circuito principal e desafogando a infra-estrutura e serviços.” Emtursa, 1994: *O Salto de Qualidade*, 23.

program has the objective to maintain those populations in their respective areas, taking to each one a demonstration (*mostra*) of what the largest popular festival of the planet is, in order to contribute to leaving the main carnival circuits less clogged.”²¹⁶

The allure of a centralized public carnival, to experience the carnival of the masses, had been emphasized for decades, but it had created negative impacts. Even *ViverBahia*, the tourism magazine, noted in 1976 that the independent, autonomous carnival culture of Tororó, a lower-class area very near the heart of the city, was “basically extinct, because of the proximity... in past days, it had remarkable activity and splendor.”²¹⁷ Now, it seems, there was one main or real carnival in Salvador, a series of simulacra of which, arranged by Emtursa and the Municipal Carnival Council, were exported to neighborhoods in the outlying areas of the city to try to keep those people in place and out of the way. The allegation that this carnival experience was fundamentally equivalent to the “real” one also ran through the documents, such as in 2001: “A high-quality carnival was provided to these populations, offering yet another carnival option for those who did not wish to travel to the other routes.”²¹⁸ Their success was gauged each year by the estimates of public present, that is, the numbers of local people who physically stayed put there instead of clogging the main carnival areas where people of means were supposed to be. In 2001, according to Emtursa’s survey, Brazilian tourists spent an average of R\$70 *reais* per day, with only 2.2% spending nothing over carnival, while in the neighborhoods fully one half of respondents made no purchases whatsoever.²¹⁹ In 2009, the wealthiest local residents—who could afford to buy access

²¹⁶ *Relatório do Carnaval de 2000*, 42.

²¹⁷ “Samba na lataria dos ônibus,” *ViverBahia* 29, February 1976, 11.

²¹⁸ *Relatório do Carnaval de 2001*: “Carnaval nos Bairros.”

²¹⁹ *Relatório do Carnaval de 2001*: “Pesquisas de opinião pública.”

both to private *blocos* and the luxury viewing boxes—spent an average of R\$221 per day. I do not have spending data for the neighborhoods, but that year the daily expenditure of the *pipoca* was R\$31, or 14% of what the local elite spent.²²⁰

The staged events held in the neighborhoods no longer necessarily interacted with or drew from local culture, as the bands for stage and *trio* performance were centrally contracted by Emtursa—although a survey of schedules suggests Emtursa heavily favored Afro-Brazilian reggae and lascivious *pagode* over the tirelessly happy *axé music* for these areas, perhaps acknowledging that *axé* was less popular and effective among these audiences. The acts chosen were also often second-rate or new artists with indeterminate reputations or appeal. But to emphasize this was a legitimate alternative, the “carnival in the neighborhoods” project was officially listed as including the “anti-carnival” for local rock fans, the Rock Stage, mounted by the city since 1994 in the faraway beach of Piatã. By 2009, the decreasing attendance figures in the neighborhoods triggered two divergent suggestions in the evaluation compiled by SalTur (formerly Emtursa): hire top-name attractions to perform there, and also take advantage of local bands and other local cultural manifestations.²²¹

However, what is most notable is the locations chosen by the city to place these bulwarks against the popular invasion of central carnival: they bear a strong affinity with the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics’s map of Salvador’s largest *favelas* (compare maps 2 and 3, p. 7). The carnival sites are sometimes within those *favelas*, but are generally placed in an arc around them in order to attract people also from surrounding districts and keep them from making the one to two hour bus ride to the city

²²⁰ *Comportamento dos Residentes em Salvador no Carnaval 2009*, 8.

²²¹ *Relatório do Carnaval de 2009*.

center. The 2001 survey of residents living in carnival sites inquired about the determining factors “for them to stay in their neighborhoods.” Most common answers were the proximity to home (42.5%), relative tranquility (32.9%), and lack of money (21.7%).²²² A more detailed study of how Salvador’s residents interacted with 2009 carnival noted that, among people present in the “neighborhood” events, 93% were black and 41% illiterate.²²³ Neighborhood locations such as Boca do Rio, Engenho Velho de Brotas, and Fazenda Grande do Retiro appeared more often in the late 1990s and early 2000s, and one might speculate that their disappearance from the roster over time is due to location—they were too close to the “real” carnival to be worth the trouble—and perhaps limited interest among sponsors to target a large number of poor audiences.²²⁴ According to SalTur, in 1998 it cost a corporation R\$30,000 *reais* to sponsor one neighborhood-based carnival, of which nine locations were available, versus R\$75,000 *reais* to advertise on an independent *trio*. By 2004, the grocery chain Bompreço, longtime neighborhood sponsor, had pulled out due to restructuring and two smaller supermarket chains invested—but there were only four locations available that year, and they were all distant from city center.

Remarkably, while the investment option price per neighborhood carnival had increased to R\$70,000 *reais* each in 2004, the corresponding amount for sponsoring an independent *trio* had actually gone down to R\$50,000 *reais* apiece (it had been this lower

²²² *Relatório do Carnaval de 2001*: “Pesquisa de opinião pública.” Locals were also queried on their media consumption, revealing that in Liberdade TV Bandeirantes was the most popular channel for carnival coverage, while it was TV Bahia in Itapuã, Cajazeiras and Periperi. Even locals’ supermarket choice during the festival was scrutinized (Bompreço 72.8%, G. Barbosa 10.88%, Extra 8.5%)—but that makes sense, as “carnival in the neighborhoods” still often received sponsorship from grocery stores, unlike the main carnival where financial institutions and consumer electronics companies targeted a wealthier audience.

²²³ *Comportamento dos Residentes em Salvador no Carnaval 2009*, 7.

²²⁴ The *Diagnóstico Mercadológico do Carnaval de 2009* made clear that “The neighborhoods chosen should not be too close to the main circuits, because the populations there are always going to prefer to watch the big stars rather than stay close to home.”

value since at least 2002). If the decrease was intended to serve as an incentive for private sponsorship of *trios*, it supports Armandinho's allegation that corporations have been reluctant to take part in investing in the independent *trios*, leaving the independent artists scrambling to raise funds on their own.²²⁵ An even more dramatic proof of his remark is in the fact that in 2004, not one single investor signed a contract with the city to sponsor an independent *trio*.²²⁶ Inconsistent data recording in the *relatórios* made it impossible to verify the degree of private support for independent *trios* in other years. But, as with the neighborhoods of poor revelers who were treated to a simulacra of official carnival to keep them out of sight and away from the tourists and TV cameras, the independent *trios* were marginalized from a festival explicitly celebrating *baianidade*, professionalized racial harmony, and the market's power to determine the contours of "popular participation." The *trios independentes* were described by SalTur as "helping fill holes in the schedule, when the *blocos* are not parading,"²²⁷ typically in the middle of the night.

Whose Carnival Is It?

In 2009, when the theme of carnival was "*O Coração do Mundo Bate Aqui* (The Heart of the World Beats Here): *Afoxés*," marking sixty years since the founding of the Filhos de Gandhi, the twenty *afoxés* parading were dwarfed in number, scale, and sonic power by thirty-three private *blocos de trio* and twenty more *blocos alternativos*, or *blocos* created after 1993, for a total of 53 private *bloco* entities.²²⁸ A different symbolic gesture towards inclusion of those at the margins was made, in the form of selecting the

²²⁵ Armandinho Macedo, personal communication, 6 January 2012, Salvador.

²²⁶ *Relatório do Carnaval de 2004*, 41. It is also noted that private sponsors did not invest in the Espaço Infântil, leading Emtursa to call for "more promotion and awareness campaigns, or offering the space to a TV broadcaster to base operations there."

²²⁷ *Diagnóstico Mercadológico do Carnaval de 2009*.

²²⁸ *Relatório do Carnaval de 2009*.

poor neighborhood of Periperi as the official opening site of the 2009 festival, where the King Momo (Gerônimo, elected via the internet) would be given the key of the city. But the most stunning finding regarding inclusion, representation, and popular participation in Salvador's contemporary carnival was made by Bahia's Superintendancy of Economic and Social Studies (SEI) in 2009. In research including a sample of approximately 6,670 local respondents over 14 years of age, that organization determined that no less than 77% of local residents chose not to participate in the city's carnival that year. The principal reason by far was concern for personal safety (47.1%), followed by a catch-all category of "diverse reasons" (34.5%) and "dislike of or disgust with attractions" (8.9%). Extrapolating from their surveys, researchers estimated that around 478,000 locals participated in carnival as revelers—19% of the population over 14 years of age—while another 100,000 labored in carnival-related employment (a more modest number than the city's continual assertion of 220,000 carnival-related jobs each year). If these numbers are true, the roughly 2 million revelers present on the street during 2009 carnival²²⁹ were predominantly from outside the city of Salvador; locals were outnumbered three to one. Salvador's carnival of popular participation had become a mega-festival that seemed to appeal more to outsiders than to those that actually lived there.

Conclusion: Remembering the "Inventors of Happiness"

Despite its various appeals to the traditional identity of the state of Bahia, Salvador's carnival itself has a short memory. The fairly detailed annual *relatórios* of carnival from Emtursa / SalTur only began to be compiled in 1997, and after around 2008 they have gotten smaller in size due both to budget cuts and "a sense that a lot of

²²⁹ *Relatório do Carnaval de 2009*, "Apresentação."

information was being repeated.”²³⁰ The original Ford car used by Dodô and Osmar in 1951 carnival is displayed at the House of Bahian Music (Casa da Música Baiana) in the beach district of Abaeté, a sort of community music space that aspires to research-archival status, but its holdings on the *trio elétrico* are composed of several folders of photocopies of mainstream news articles. Historians, or anyone for that matter, seeking data or documentation on carnival’s past are confronted with a bewildering array of recollections, audio recordings, journalistic assertions, images, isolated batches of numbers, and detached ephemera.

Dodô died in 1978; Osmar, in 1997. A year later, a commemorative statue featuring a bronze bust of the two friends and co-workers who invented the *trio elétrico* in 1951 was placed across the street from the Praça Castro Alves; they appear to gaze happily at that landmark of Salvador’s modern carnival, their backs to the site of a nightclub where they played together in the 1940s and debuted their home-made electric instruments (today it is a movie theater). The statue, three meters high with a granite base, was unveiled at a ceremony featuring the presence of not only family members but the last ranks of Antônio Carlos Magalhães’s inner political circle: governor Paulo Souto, mayor Antônio Imbassahy, and Secretary of Culture and Tourism Paulo Gaudenzi.²³¹

Their legacy lives on in other ways. In 1996, Osmar participated in the recording of a CD in his honor, *Children of Happiness (Filhos da Alegria)*, with some of the top *axé* singers, as well as several guest vocalists from Pernambuco.²³² The city’s historical carnival route from Campo Grande to the Praça Castro Alves and back—shortened to cut out Praça da Sé, entrance to Pelourinho and longtime site of the judging stage but an area

²³⁰ Merina Aragão (SalTur Carnival Manager), personal communication, 22 December 2011, Salvador.

²³¹ “Monumenta homenageia Dodô e Osmar,” *Correio da Bahia*, 17 February 1998.

²³² Osmar Macedo, *Filhos da Alegria* (Eldorado 946075, 1996).

much too small for today's *trios*—has been officially called the Osmar Circuit, while Dodô's name was given to the elite beachfront route from Barra to Ondina. (The smaller, quieter, so-called "traditional carnival" in Pelourinho, with its wandering bands and family attractions, was named for local *sambista* Batatinha.) In 1992, the Dodô & Osmar Trophy was created by local newspaper *A Tarde*, in partnership with the Brazilian Institute of Public Opinion and Statistics (IBOPE); a sort of Oscars for local carnival culture, the annual award represents a peculiar convergence of actual public surveys and voting procedures within precise market research categories defined by the corner office, from Best Singer, Best Drummer and Best Song to Best *Abadá*, Most Exciting Private Viewing Box (*Camarote Mais Animado*), Best New Band, Best *Trio* Visual Production, Best TV Coverage, Best Female Artist's Fashion, and Best Tourism Personality. Ironically, the only year there has been a category for Best Independent *Trio* was 1992, the Trophy's debut, when Armandinho, Dodô & Osmar were predictably given the nod.

In 2000, for the carnival celebrating both Brazil's 500-year anniversary and fifty years of the *trio elétrico*, the group's *trio* was made one of the festival highlights; it paraded amongst a flotilla of gnome-sized replicas of Portuguese wooden ships, symbolically discovering, entertaining, and realizing the cultural potential of Brazil, all at the same time. It was a clever way to stage a dual performance of two histories, but by cloaking the *trio* and its musicians in the pageantry of colonial conqueror (plumed hats and all), the spectacle ironically offered a sour counter-reading: that the most famous independent *trio elétrico* represented an outmoded stage of the Brazilian past that needed to be reduced to the proper proportions of but one historical contribution to a modern, rational carnival and modern, rational nation. The group's record for the event, *Jublileu*

de Ouro (Golden Jubilee), included some new versions of older songs as well as “Mundo de Folia (World of Revelry),” an implicitly self-referential piece rooted in *axé music* and *baianidade*: “It’s a world of revelry / In the land of happiness / That God blessed / I’ll go behind the *trio* / It’s a party, carnival in Salvador / I want to see you here / I’ll go until infinity / To take you there.”²³³

Of the founders’ succeeding generation, Osmar’s sons Armandinho and Aroldo Macedo have been the most vocal in trying to remind people of the importance of Dodô and Osmar’s contributions and values, and to assert an historical perspective of carnival’s development—a desire sharpened, undoubtedly, by their *trio*’s persistent financial instability. The two brothers have taken divergent approaches. Armandinho engages the mass media, arguing in interviews that the founding *trio* has been forgotten: “In 1978, we did the *Frevoxé*, which they would say today was a mixture of *frevó* with *axé*. After us came your Asa de Àguia, your Chiclete com Banana, but they took from us and from Moraes Moreira, who was experimenting with the *ijexá* rhythm of the *afoxés*. Now they all claim to have created everything. But that whole crew of the 1980s, Luiz Caldas, Bel Marques of Chiclete, learned from us and copied us.”²³⁴ Indeed, the *trio*’s 1985 album for 1986 carnival, *Chame Gente*, included yet another early reference to *axé*,²³⁵ and a song about about the electric guitar’s ability to translate any form of world music,²³⁶ over a rhythmic bed informed by the new Caribbean trends (featuring such instruments as

²³³ Marcos Gondim & André Macedo, “Mundo de Folia,” on *Jubileu de Ouro* (Warner Brasil 42.470.112/001-56, 2000).

²³⁴ Armandinho, “Herdeiro e memória do carnaval de Dodô & Osmar,” 14. Moraes Moreira certainly played a key role after 1974 in extending the reach of Salvador’s carnival music, but it is notable how his memoir, *Sonhos Elétricos* emphasizes his contributions to *axé music* and carnival but glosses over the earlier period—especially not mentioning the late 1960s or early 1970s and the significance of Caetano Veloso, who, for his own part, has said that he was “very happy to have participated in what became *axé music* (*Caminhão da Alegria – 60 Anos de Trio Elétrico*).

²³⁵ Carlos Moura, “No Braço, Um Axé,” on *Chame Gente*.

²³⁶ Armandinho, Moraes Moreira & Zeca Barreto, “Guitarra da Terra,” on *Chame Gente*.

bongos, congas and timbales as well as then-contemporary electronic drums). Armandinho often seems particularly irked at Chiclete Com Banana, a band that started as a rock group in the mid-1970s but switched to a more ample stylistic palette after seeing Moraes Moreira sing with Dodô and Osmar, and who have attempted ever since to discursively claim the mantle of most open-minded stylistic hybridity through their song lyrics and LP titles²³⁷--an endeavor assisted, in the early 1990s, by their record company's promotional apparatus.²³⁸ Singer Bel Marques carries considerable clout in the Association of *Blocos de Trio*, and while Chiclete Com Banana has not enjoyed the international success of other *axé* bands, they have amassed a fortune by focusing on the regional northeastern market.

In contrast, Armandinho's brother Aroldo has aimed his attention at younger, perhaps less literate people, such as public-school students, who may never even have heard of Dodô and Osmar. Over the course of two low-production (roughly 6,000 copies each) comic books released in the early 2000s, referred to as *história em quadrinhos* or history comics, both based on his personal accounts, the comics tell the story first of the friends' creation of electric instruments, and then of their triumphal entrance into Salvador's carnival the first time as a duo in the Ford 29. While intended to bring the history and significance of the *trio elétrico* founders to light, as well as inspire young people to believe they too can create new instruments, new machines, and whole new practices and traditions (a valuable and salutary message), the comics bear a complicated

²³⁷ Their record title *Toda Mistura Será Permitida* (*Every Mixture Will Be Permitted*), on Continental (1.01.404.381, 1989), recalls the name of the controversial 1965 play by Nelson Rodrigues, *Toda Nudez Será Castigada* (*Nudity Will be Chastised*), which used licentiousness to poke fun at tradition and orthodoxy in Brazilian society.

²³⁸ The promotional version of their 1993 album *I3* (BMG / RCA 140.0129, 1993) contained an insert from the Press Department of BMG suggesting that Chiclete Com Banana initiated Salvador's "delicious salad of rhythms" in the early 1980s, anticipating the *axé* boom, and were unique in creating "new mixtures without being concerned with fashion, staying open to the most varied influences."

relationship with the past. Essentially, they take the dominant discourses of Salvador's carnival of popular participation, which as we have seen were consolidated in later eras—including an electrified carnival as a catalyst for collective harmony, *baianidade's* insistence on happiness as a defining local trait, and the aversion to Pernambucan *frevo* in the construction of the city's own “true” local music style after around 1990—and impose them on the 1940s and very early 1950s.

The first, *The Incredible History of the Electric Stick*, presents an image of the “old world” of the early 1940s which was destroying itself with tanks and submarines. But in contrast, “people were happy in Bahia,” making music and dancing (see figure 13a). The second volume, *The Electric Duo*, drew more specific contrasts: placing the global divisions of the Cold War (identified here by a standoff between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.) and the starkly racist policies of South Africa, against Bahian happiness. The scene is “The Tabaris Bar, where everyone mixed and mingled without ire or prejudice to the electric sounds of Dodô and Osmar” (see figure 13b). In the text, the protagonists do not claim to have created the first electric guitars, but a small gesture is made towards that end by including an American sailor in the bar in the 1940s who admits he has never seen such an invention. However, the most dramatic intervention of the comics is that they write *frevo* out of the story. Rather than the visit of Recife's Vassourinhas carnival club in 1951, Seu Armando, a curious reveler wearing a grass skirt and turban, gives the friends the idea to parade as they lament the fact that the club where they play will close for the festival (figure 14).

Figures 13a - b: Visions of the past.
Source: *História em Quadrinhos: Dodô & Osmar*, vols. 1-2 (author's collection).





Figure 14:
Carnival
inspiration.
Source: *História
em Quadrinhos:
Dodô & Osmar*,
vol. 2 (author's
collection).

Seu Armando was based on Osmar's father-in-law, Armando, who encouraged his carnival endeavours; Armando's death is the principal reason given for Osmar's abandoning carnival after 1960. His appearance here was a way to provide an homage to a man who played a supporting role in the early years of the *trio elétrico*. But it also excised the precedent of Pernambucan *frevo* from the duo's carnival debut and their musical foundation. Later, we see listeners applaud the new live music during carnival, but there is no mention of it being *frevo* at all—not surprising, since Recife's music had been rejected almost systematically by the diverse local artists who were creating *axé music* by the late 1980s—but this was still an ambivalent decision given Osmar's repeated commitment to *frevo* as the true music of the *trio elétrico*. However, these comics were intended for young people who likely had grown up steeped in the mass-mediated notion that Salvador's carnival music was an innately local cultural expression. Evading the centrality of *frevo* in the comics should not be taken as an implicit rejection

of *frevo* itself in the real *trio*'s music, which is far from the case, but rather a concession to contemporary societal values focusing on more recent musical experimentation around carnival which is coded as thoroughly Bahian in its hybridizing of the local and the global. Indeed, the tension in the comics lies in how they accommodate the values of the present in explaining the past, in a manner which then reflexively provides an historical justification for the present of Salvador's carnival—the very present that actively excludes the independent *trios* and their supposed values of a spontaneous, “democratic” festival in which all are truly equal. The finale is that people of all races and social classes interact and mingle “as never before” through the force of Dodô and Osmar's innovative inventions, which, the comic enthuses, “later would transform Bahia's carnival into the largest festival of popular participation on the planet!”

How to explain this? On the one hand, Aroldo knew that potential sponsors would not be willing to support a project that indulged in polemics or hinted at offending any of the various interest groups in Salvador's contemporary carnival, from Emtursa to carnival administration to the dominant private *blocos de trio*.²³⁹ At the same time, Aroldo, like Armandinho and his brothers; like Carlinhos Brown, the musician and social activist; like many more *axé music* and *bloco afro* artists all do, genuinely maintains a belief at some level in the compelling power of the ideal sung city as a place of peace, equality, and harmony, and the potential of its carnival to unite the masses in a celebration of popular participation that is local in origin but national in scope and meaning.

The persistent question—for carnival, for Salvador, and for Brazil itself, is who those masses are and what it is really uniting them around.

²³⁹ The comic books were funded with contributions from diverse corporations and state agencies, from Bahiatursa, Salvador's Gregório de Mattos Foundation, and the Bahia State Cultural Foundation to the Bank of Brazil and two local musical instrument stores.



Figure 15: Encounter of *trios elétrico* in carnival, Praça Castro Alves.
Source: Fundação Gregório de Mattos, Salvador.

Conclusion

Salvador's carnival was idealized as a force for uniting people at the intersection of several democracies including race and the free market. Ideals of collectivity and equality provided a counterpoint to political constraint, whether on the streets of Salvador during the festival or through the shared consumption of carnival-related cultural products dispersed across Brazil through the culture industry's distribution channels. The values of popular participation, inflected with societal desires for a collective voice during the absence of political democracy in the late 1960s and early 1970s, also offered a contrast from the carnivals of Rio de Janeiro and Recife, where the main focus of official carnival was on the regulated presentation of carefully maintained local traditions, their qualities judged by panels of elite experts. Broadbased hopes to move on from the dictatorship to a brighter political and economic future also stimulated an openness to reconsidering orthodox symbols of national identity. These factors led to the "victory" of Salvador's festival in the 1990s, anointed as Brazil's carnival by representatives of the mass media based on both tangible evidence (tourism and economic data) as well as intangible elements of cultural innovation, globalized discourses of racial harmony, and trendiness.

Axé music emerged as a novel style or attitude towards musical hybridity and festivity, born of the legacy of Salvador's carnivalesque musical experimentation starting with the electrification of carnival music by Dodô and Osmar in 1951—and it reached ever greater audiences, through a substantial touristic "rediscovery" of Bahia after 1990; expansion of FM radio, regionally and nationally; rise in local studios capable of producing professional recordings for the national and world market; growth in

micaretas; increasing TV coverage of carnival; interpenetration of Salvador's carnival with the wider mass mediated celebrity industry; introduction in the 1990s of the cheaper, more convenient CD format; and a national boom in the purchase of recorded music.¹ Soon after the boom, *axé* generated an "ethnic aesthetic" in home décor, from curtains and cloth designs to furniture, viewed as a refined, polished version of Afro-Bahian art for elite consumers "that does not appear to be merely a bunch of souvenirs."²

In trying to explain the simultaneous standardization and diversification of music in modern Colombia, Peter Wade (borrowing from Richard Middleton's critique of Adorno) suggests that the circuit of production and consumption of popular music is like a "constantly mutating organism, run by musicians from a variety of backgrounds and by businessmen, catering to an increasingly diverse market with rapidly changing tastes... [an] organism made up of elements which are symbiotic and mutually contradictory at the same time."³ *Axé* faces unique pressures, as a local mass-mediated popular music that is also the characteristic music of carnival, and the musical face of the city; and carnival, the state's major annual touristic event—influenced by the diverse forces of claims to tradition, local pride, tourist marketing, and the culture industry—needs to be at once *the same* and *different* from what it was before. The issue is rooted in how repetition has affected modern aesthetic production, as Jameson observed.⁴ Columns submitted to

¹ The Brazilian music market grew 134.5% between 1990-1998; by 1999, *axé* and three other regional styles (*forró*, *sertanejo*, and *pagode*) accounted for an astonishing 75% of record sales in Brazil. Of the 22 million CDs PolyGram sold in Brazil in 1997, 32% were *axé music*. Paulo Henrique de Almeida and Gustavo Casseb Pessoti, "A Evolução da Indústria Fonográfica e o Caso da Bahia," *Bahia Análise & Dados* vol. 9 #4 March 2000.

² "O toque *axé* light," *Veja*, 07 February 1996.

³ Wade, *Music, Race, and Nation*, 26, 28.

⁴ He highlights "the strategic emphasis on innovation and novelty, the obligatory break with previous styles, the pressure—geometrically increasing with the ever swifter temporality of of consumer society—to 'make it new,' to produce something which resists and breaks through the force of gravity of repetition." *Signatures of the Visible*, 17.

Salvador's newspaper *A Tarde* by artists, critics, and music industry insiders as part of the *Música Baiana-Para Onde?* (*Whither Bahian Music?*) series in the late 2000s tended to concur that the major problem was not *axé* in and of itself, but that the entrenched commercial forces (branding, merchandising, radio, sponsorships, performance opportunities) behind it were so massive as to lock out other local artists and styles from reaching public attention. Not only had the natural "spontaneity" of the creative musical evolution that produced *axé* been stalled, but other forms were unable to put down roots, which was seen as compromising the future diversity and vitality of Bahian music.⁵ It appeared that fewer people than before were convinced *axé music* was a desirable cultural product, but it was enmeshed in networks of production and distribution that were interlinked and difficult to dismantle, especially since it had no clear replacement.

Given all these critiques, it might be useful to briefly consider just why *axé music* was nationally successful in the first place, or to put it in a different way, where its particular power to be popular came from. Here again, Wade's insights into Colombian music are especially helpful; he shows how, in the context of diverse national and regional trends, the revival of Costeño music in the 1990s "mediated tensions between homogeneity and heterogeneity, between tradition and modernity," while conveying a sense of festive happiness that temporarily displaced (or, he notes one could argue, placed into sharper relief) the country's recent experience with extreme human rights violations alongside "violence, ruthlessness, and mistrust."⁶ *Axé* is a music that was not traditional per sé—some of its elements were, notably the Afro-Caribbean elements that were refracted and re-presented through the cultural lens of Salvador's distinctive *blocos*

⁵ José Carlos Capinan, quoted in Vajão, "Axé-Music, Ghost-Music?"; Luiz Américo Lisboa Junior, "Repensando Caminhos," *A Tarde* (Salvador) 10 September 2009.

⁶ Wade, *Music, Race, and Nation*, 228-9.

afro. But it became both the musical identity of the city and the dominant soundtrack of Salvador's contemporary carnival of popular participation; it was a new music that took Brazil by storm for at least a heady decade or so—because it mediated tensions that underlay several key concerns of the Brazilian nation, concerns that were both deep and immediate, and that Brazil's other successful carnival cultures have also grappled with to varying degrees and in differing forms. Those concerns are rooted in race relations, the cultural expression of modernity, and the relationship between region and nation—multilayered problems affecting diverse facets of Brazilian society, economy, and artistic production, but whose connections are strikingly illuminated in their association with carnival's implied celebrations, transgressions, and reversals. And given the historical context of dictatorship and economic change in which Salvador's "popular" carnival emerged, relations with the state and the market are also an important dimension of how the festival addressed national concerns for finding new spaces for the "democratic" assertion of consumer choice, including the expanded options for identity and sociability that consumption offered discursively to all (but practically to relatively few).

Axé music can be comprehended as a form or expression of *baianidade* because it deals with ideals, specifically ideal images of race relations between people in Bahia—relations of equality and pride that are uniquely fostered and maintained in the city of Salvador (that this was Brazil's first capital added national significance to local race relations). In its hybridity of instruments and styles associated with different ethnicities, locales, and social practices, the music itself embodied this multiplicity. To an extent, the ideal of racial harmony in *axé* was founded on truths—the *axé* economy has offered rewards of wealth and prestige to local culture producers of every skin tone and ethnic

affiliation, as long as they produce what the market wants. However, structural power relations have often meant that Afro-Brazilian artists (musicians, dancers) find the greatest financial rewards in working under contract for established “white” artists, rather than being able to mount independent careers.⁷ The world portrayed in *axé music* was one of racial equality, respect, and collegiality, localized in Salvador but with the implicit potential to be realized nationally. The sung city of Salvador was the “most Brazilian of all Brazilian cities” because it showed a way from the past to the future, rooted in cooperation in the cultural economy and leisure industries, reflecting in its inventions of collective identity (unlike in the *sambas de enredo* of Rio’s samba schools, mired in traditional tropes of music production and a clear separation between carnival’s performers and consumers) what the rest of the country was still aspiring toward.

The ironies were, however, that *axé music* as a manifestation of racial equanimity between black and white could only plausibly be produced in a place like Salvador, with a substantial Afro-Brazilian presence—a fact which for critics played into longstanding tendencies of “othering” Salvador as an exotic locale whose demographics and culture rendered it unfit for ascriptions of national identity. Or, borrowing the terms of the folklore movement, the unique regionalness of Salvador’s carnival manifestations outside of the *afoxés* meant that they were not organically related to other national phenomena, hence not national in import. And the lyrical invitations to listeners to come to Salvador

⁷ A distinction could be made here between actual performers versus composers or orchestrators, who might be able to strategically navigate the different sorts of benefits that different work situations involve. An example would be Neguinho do Samba (1955 – 2009), Olodum’s percussion director, who after creating Olodum’s signature rhythms in the 1980s developed his own autonomous career, composing for such *axé* megastars as Daniela Mercury and corporations like the Brazilian airline Vasp. After Olodum’s recording sessions with Paul Simon in 1988, Neguinho do Samba did not accept Simon’s gift offer of an imported car the way the group’s other directors did, but asked for the equivalent in cash, investing the payment into real estate property in Pelourinho (when it was still under-valued before the touristic renovation of the area), where he initiated the all-female Afro-Brazilian percussion band Dida.

and experiment with ethnicity, to shape-shift, were fundamentally invitations to white Brazilians of means to discover and play with localized elements of a globally-imagined black world, from the *blocos afro* and *afoxés* to the reggae fad, and thus control their surging cultural clout. Racial equality was depicted and subverted at the same time. Or, in Jameson's phrase, *axé music* provides an instance of "reification and utopia" in which there is the "management of desire in social terms... works of mass culture are not merely false consciousness and cannot manipulate unless they offer some genuine shred of content as a fantasy bribe to the public about to be so manipulated. Anxiety and hope are two faces of the same collective consciousness."⁸ In this case the collective need not be visualized as a nation, but a broad market segment of consumers (tourists, listeners) shaded by national affiliation and a national vernacular for performing democracies.

Axé music was not only carnival music, it became a "popular" music produced and consumed year-round. This speaks to the market success of its messages and sounds, but that fact hinges on the reality that Salvador's carnival was the first Brazilian carnival to transcend concerns over adherence to tradition and folklore (including the reliance on specialists to verify authenticity and legitimacy, or the notion that true "popular" culture had to be somehow produced in a manner divorced from the free market) and become integrated into channels of the culture industry at the national level. It escaped the regionally constrained market segments achieved by recordings either of the samba schools as annual documents of Rio de Janeiro's carnival specifically, or of Recife's *frevó* and *maracatu*—unique carnival cultures associated too intrinsically with the narrowly-drawn cultural space and social histories of the northeast.

That *axé music* succeeded in cultural and commercial terms (even if its heyday

⁸ Jameson, *Signatures of the Visible*, 29-30.

proves brief) is perhaps also due to the way it embodied longstanding debates over modernity in Brazil, debates given their most influential form during the events of Modern Art Week in São Paulo in 1922 as well as related period forums.⁹ A central text emerging from intellectuals engaged in defining Brazilian culture at the time was Oswald de Andrade's "Cannibalist Manifesto" (1928), a poetic exploration of Brazilian origins not in European colonialism, but in the country's coastal-region indigenous who notoriously (if only occasionally) engaged in cannibalism. For Andrade, this became a metaphor to underscore the relationship of Brazilian identity with that of other, especially developed countries of the world: Brazil ingested foreign forms and remade them into something uniquely and recognizably Brazilian. By this reading, it was arguably necessary for a Brazilian cultural form to demonstrate its interaction with, and symbolic dominance and recontextualization of, a foreign form to be emblematic of Brazil's most defining cultural potentialities—a view of authentic identity quite distinct from what the midcentury folklorists would have maintained. But this expression of nationalism runs through both *axé music* and what may be *axé music's* most kindred predecessor, the popular and influential exaltation sambas or "civic sambas" of Ari Barroso. As Santuza Cambria Naves shows, those songs of the late 1930s and 1940s reflected an engagement with and internalization of the foreign (instrumentation and composition influenced by jazz); nationalist sentiments and reverence for the past; hints of parody, eroticism, or self-awareness in the lyrics that counterbalanced the gravity of the praise of national ideals; and an overall "aesthetic of excess" and exuberance that bordered on the carnivalesque.¹⁰

⁹ A good discussion of the issues and major contributors to the debate is in Dunn, *Brutality Garden*, chapter 1, "Poetry for Export: Modernity, Nationality, and Internationalism in Brazilian Culture."

¹⁰ Santuza Cambria Naves, *O Violão Azul: Modernismo e Música Popular* (Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 1998), 168-181.

But just as in the carnival of real life, Naves notes, the carnivalesque parody and satire in these and other examples of Brazilian popular music do not ultimately rupture into critiques of the status quo; yes, they are associated with “radicalism and transgression,” but ultimately they coexist more with “values of affirmation of the nation and Brazilian culture than with contexts of negation.”¹¹

The patriotic idealism of race relations, history, and place (more typically the city than the nation) in *axé music* have been discussed previously, but Naves’s analysis points to another source of *axé music*’s hold on the Brazilian listening public—its relationship with the foreign. As in Barroso’s exaltation sambas, *axé music* absorbed just enough foreign elements to demonstrate both its global cosmopolitanism and its dominant role in that balance of influences to emphasize a unique, proudly Brazilian innovation. The “invasion” of Bahia by Caribbean rhythms reached the national press in 1986, with a *Veja* article explaining how the *trios elétrico* had synthesized them into “another successful marriage in Brazilian music.” The article initially ascribes agency not to deliberate experimentation in Bahia, but to the voraciousness of the “foreign” rhythms,¹² although soon enough that perspective would change into broad praise for the *trios* in helping define Bahia’s new musical identity through synthesizing Caribbean music, rhythms of the *blocos afro*, and other forms into what came to be called *axé*.

The fact that the Trio Elétrico Dodô and Osmar, along with Armandinho, remained rooted in dialogues principally with the regional style of *frevo* detracted both from their perceived capacity to define Salvador’s new sound relative to nearby Pernambuco, and from their involvement in the debates of cannibalist modernity in which

¹¹ Naves, *O Violão Azul*, 200.

¹² “Merengue com Acarajé: Os ritmos do Caribe invadem a Bahia na estreia de sua popularização entre as platéias internacionais,” *Veja* 19 March 1986.

navigation of foreign influences was critical. It was this, along with their associations of praise and dependency with politicians and their relative distance from the mass culture industries, that hindered their integration into Salvador's professionalizing carnival. Ironically enough, changes in Brazil's posture with respect to rock and roll brought the *trio* favorable national attention in the 1980s. By this time, Salvador had already produced rock musicians of national stature, who also generated considerable diatribes.¹³ The 1985 Rock in Rio concerts reignited debates about cultural imperialism and copying foreign culture:¹⁴ whether there could be genuine, national *rock brasileiro* as well as the derivative copy of foreign rock, *rock feito no Brasil* (rock made in Brazil).¹⁵ However, rock had been part of the Brazilian music scene for three decades and it had become accepted among many observers that rock had been nationalized. This makes the reception of the Trio Dodô and Osmar's rock-influenced 1986 LP *Chame Gente* notable. Although rock had met *frevo* long before, critical response at that time seems to have been muted. But *Chame Gente* came at a moment when Brazilian musicians, critics, and fans had a heightened consciousness of rock's dual form as an emblem of, and challenge to, national identity—linked both to Rock in Rio, and the invigorated association of rock in Brazil's urban centers with rebelling against enforcers of the status quo. There were enough Brazilian rock bands that reviewers had a national corpus to compare the record

¹³ These included Raul Seixas, who left what he viewed as the cultural confines of Bahia for Rio de Janeiro in 1967, and the 1980 punk group Camisa de Vênus, who stayed in Salvador. Local "enemies" of Camisa de Vênus included defenders of MPB and the newspaper *A Tarde*, which called out to the government to censor the group. Arthur Dapieve, *BRock: O Rock Brasileiro dos Anos 80* (São Paulo: Editora 34, 1996).

¹⁴ In 1985, international and Brazilian rock bands shared the stage at Rock in Rio. Sean Stroud demonstrates how, contrary to critics' expectations, "the international capitalist extravaganza that was Rock in Rio failed to lead to a huge influx of international music; on the contrary, it resulted in a boost for sales of Brazilian popular music, and also kick-started the birth of the Brazilian rock movement" (*The Defense of Tradition*, 100-1). See also Charles A. Perrone, "Changing of the Guard: Questions and Contrasts of Brazilian Rock Phenomena" (*Studies in Latin American Popular Culture* #9 1990).

¹⁵ These terms are in Ayrton Mugnaini Jr., *Raul Seixas: Eu Quero Cantar por Cantar* (São Paulo: Nova Sampa Diretriz Editora, 1993), 16.

to. *Veja's* music critic adored *Chame Gente*, calling it "first-rate... it renews *rock brasileiro*."¹⁶ Author Okky de Souza insisted that "these young rockers don't suffer English or American influences," but work "exclusively with Brazilian music... taking advantage only of rock's energy and joviality, and its rich use of electric guitars." By avoiding a brute combination of foreign and Brazilian elements for a sophisticated cannibalization, the *trio* managed to express rock's stylistic attitudes in a firm base of *frevo* and *samba*. The review notes that the record could invigorate "tired and repetitive" Brazilian rock, and can be enjoyed year-round, not only during carnival (or as exclusively carnival music). In forefronting the musical dexterity of the Macedo brothers based in the tradition of the *trio elétrico*, the author displaces rock's associations with rebellion and anti-nationalism to leave only "festive energy... a polished way to rock-and-roll without losing one's Brazilianness."¹⁷

However, continuing musical experiments and openings in Salvador's carnival have led to criticism and a sense among some that the globalization of the festival has gone too far. How international should Salvador's carnival become, given that, in the opinions of many, it represents Brazil? *The Guardian* newspaper reported that in 2007's carnival, to wide critical declamation, DJ Fatboy Slim, Shakira, Carlos Santana, and Ziggy Marley all performed in Salvador on *trio* vehicles. Bahian author and music historian Luiz Américo Lisboa Junior states, "With time Bahia's carnival could totally lose its character if we don't look at this critically. There is a growing deformation... You

¹⁶ "Tons do Brasil: Trio Dodô e Osmar Renova o Rock Nacional," *Veja* 08 January 1986.

¹⁷ Some suggest that the cultural and economic hegemony of *axé music* has been good for contemporary local rock music: *Axé's* popularity and ubiquitousness has encouraged strong devotion, communality, and expressiveness among the underground, while thanks to Salvador's profile as a center of music production, the city's alternative bands have unprecedented access to musical equipment and information as well as recording technology and rehearsal studios. Carla Guimarães de Andrade, "O *Axé Music* Abre Caminho para o Som Underground," *Bahia Análise & Dados* vol. 5 #4 March 1996; "Som na Caixa," *Veja Mais Salvador* December 2004.

have to maintain the local traditions, if not you end up losing your identity and your points of reference." Concurred Brazil's culture minister, Juca Ferreira, "There is the risk of [carnival] becoming just an international window display."¹⁸ But the foreign artists' participation in a collective Brazilian rite of passage was jubilantly received by the celebrants, perhaps as its own form of transgressive inversion, a defiant displacement of the popular echoing other famous generational disputes (Englishman Fat Boy Slim quipped to a Brazilian reporter, "As Elvis said, a million people can't be wrong"). An outsider who looked at this episode to read the people's psychology might interpret it negatively, as a case of alienated traditions and worship of foreign celebrity. Another might see, in the range of international stars who traveled to Salvador and adapted their performances to the *trio elétrico* venue and physical demands of carnival, a confirmation of both Salvador's "biggest popular festival" status and, in national terms, the joyful sense that Brazil—politically, economically, culturally—has arrived on the global stage.

Roberto da Matta argued that during carnival, "the stories that Brazilians tell each other about themselves are sung and danced, never spoken... Relating to the world through song and revelry means, first of all, the power to discover that we are all of the same society, of the same world." A fundamental part of that, he continues, is that the songs are sung collectively and are based on recognizably Brazilian themes—from national histories to praise of the country's mythic three component races; from idle womanizing fast-talkers to slavery or Afro-Brazilian deities. And carnival also dramatizes the dialectic between "principles of hierarchy and equality, marking it as

¹⁸ "Brazilian Carnival Loses its Rhythm to Foreign DJs," *The Guardian* (London), 12 February 2007.

different from other carnivals, such as that of New Orleans.”¹⁹ Carnival allows Brazilians to speak of itself, to itself, even as the people don costumes or invert their social status—raising stereotypes of identity and social status to light (for negation, exaggeration or interrogation) as in diverse other global masquerade practices. Similar to what Canclini found in indigenous festivals in Mexico, Brazilian carnival and Salvador’s in particular permits the “staging of strife,” even being characterized with the theatrical phrase “stage of protest.” As the central ritual of an imagined community it may evoke abstract nationalist sentiment towards people that any one individual may never meet face to face (as Anderson described national consciousness), but that is balanced by the festival’s immediacy, its atmosphere of indulgence, its permission of sensual gratification.

In his view, carnival inverts Brazil’s diverse quotidian social hierarchies to present a “festival without a boss” in which all people are equal, integral beings independent of race, class, gender, family, et cetera and competitions between samba schools represent legitimate contests of merit. In a way, this recalls what Habermas described as the eighteenth-century public sphere of western Europe: consideration of the “psychology of the humanity common to all, with the abstract individuality of the natural person,” expressed in informed public debate of issues by a particular social sector that mediated state and private concerns and encouraged publicity, or public-ness, to hear and assess arguments fairly.²⁰ It was not the state or a guild, but a public made up of private people. This population was made visible to itself, distinct from its negative categorization created in the shadow of representations of authority (royal, religious, military) and through not just their shared basic labor concerns but a growing domestic

¹⁹ Roberto da Matta, *Carnavais, Malandros, e Heróis*, 112-4.

²⁰ Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 171.

literacy (reading novels and newspapers, writing letters at home) that catalyzed broader social participation. It is intriguing that a dynamic inter-penetration of domestic and public spheres, what da Matta insightfully characterized for Brazil as the dualism of “house and street,” runs through both analyses of a zone between individuals and the state.²¹ Of course, making the street more domestic is one thing. From the authorities’ point of view, domesticating the street is another. Here enter methods of surveillance, use of force, and the encouraged embrace of a capitalist system that translates raw human energy into narrower performance, pleasure, and consumption.

For Habermas, the public sphere was weakening by the mid-nineteenth century as its goals became too many and complex (due in part to what was otherwise a salutary increase in inclusivity through literacy), but especially as private concerns fostering consumerism pervaded the public sphere’s communication media and very sense of identity. “The public sphere assumes advertising functions. The more it can be deployed as a vehicle for political and economic propaganda, the more it becomes unpolitical as a whole and pseudo-privatized.”²² Private interests, political parties, and entrenched bureaucracies command the debate and agenda, while the public is limited to “acclamation.” The previous organic relation between private and public has been corrupted through a re-focusing of “publicity” to convey sensationalism, celebrity, and pageantry rather than the cleansing sunlight of fair public assessment. Public and private, which now carried the force of advertising, were intermingled and confused; “discussion

²¹ For da Matta, the street has typically suggested danger, movement, and disorder; the house, intimacy, stability, warmth. The street is impersonal, the house personal. During carnival, houses are remade on streets as people seek romantic encounters and open themselves to spontaneous intimacy, or otherwise reveal themselves. This complex analysis occupies a significant part of *Carnavais, Malandros e Heróis* (roughly pp. 70-95).

²² Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 175.

loses its creative character.”²³

Brazilian carnival can change, its discourses, focuses, and manifestations transforming with time and topicality as well as regional accent or vernacular. Capitalism has been with it from the first, evolving with it, and based on Debord’s concept of the society of the spectacle, modern carnival is at least as much a celebration of capitalism as of anything else. Carnival is not a public sphere, but captures its likeness in the context of one nation—a former Portuguese colony in Latin America, still marked by centuries of slavery, inequality and unequal development. Dancing and revelry are not, at the end of the day (Ash Wednesday?), equivalent to the informed debate Habermas idealized. The state is comfortable with not being engaged or highly visible during carnival. And the new elite of this mass society do not gain prestige by their debate skills, but “the elite becomes the elite by producing the goods that sell, the goods that cater to an average of tastes.”²⁴ The publicity of celebrities offers a vicarious image of desires met.

Salvador’s carnival innovations were racial and cultural, but they were eminently technological. The electrified, brightly-lit, gasoline-powered *trio elétrico* provided a new way to see and comprehend local reality and social relations. The light and amplified volume revealed aspects of social life and the nature of the city that were both newly immediate and newly spreading to infinity. Rosalind Williams has described the “momentous” impact of electrical power, particularly lighting, on nineteenth-century Paris, its lifeways and “the social universe of consumption.” She suggests the lighting on streets and automobiles “nurtured a collective sense of life in a dream world,” making the city into a fairyland. And “Unlike images of far-off places, a fairyland cannot be accused

²³ Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 180.

²⁴ Van der Haag, “Of Happiness and Despair We Have No Measure,” 519.

of falsity because it never pretends to be a real place, Or can it? Electric lighting covers up unpleasant sights which might be revealed in the cold light of the day.”²⁵ A more concise, elegant and cynical gloss on carnivalesque *baianidade* would be hard to construct. Whatever potential Salvador’s carnival had to be read as embodying coherent, progressive popular discourses that could meaningfully engage the state was weakened by not merely its long association with capitalism, which was organic and inescapable, but the historical coincidence that Brazil transitioned back to political democracy (formally in 1985) in a manner that was committed to broad and deep neoliberalism.

However, if progress is sought, Salvador’s carnival has helped stimulate a certain, narrowly defined public sphere in Bahia. The contradictions and examples of social exclusion in the city that carnival frames and re-presents have, since the 1990s, been the focus of increasing numbers of debates, panels uniting scholars and public intellectuals, academic analyses, graduate theses and dissertations, and popular news articles (written by interested journalists as well as academics). Some of these academics and intellectuals also write books for the public, or, along with international NGOs, collaborate with concerned artists on grassroots social projects. This has all cohered around the wound carnival opened in a city that was long bleeding internally. Carnival helped worsen the city’s socioeconomic problems, but it did so openly, revealing its workings for focused debate, criticism, and often highly informed analysis. Salvador’s carnival celebrities themselves occupy a complex role as mediators, being beneficiaries and clients of a mass-mediated system that enriches them at social cost but whose music celebrates utopian national ideals that one day perhaps the people, and the state, will realize.

²⁵ Rosalind Williams, “The Dream World of Mass Consumption,” in *Rethinking Popular Culture*, eds. Chandra Mukerji and Michael Schudson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 217-220.

Epilogue: Fat Tuesday was Yesterday

“We change, and carnival changes.”

Renato Almeida, 1974

Currently, Salvador’s carnival boosters view the future with uncertainty: growth in tourism arrivals, tourism receipts, private investment to the city, and job creation has plateaued, while diverse critiques regarding the festival’s public expense and social exclusion have stung carnival administrators. *Axé music* itself seems to have reached a creative and commercial cul-de-sac. Meanwhile, within Salvador’s two principal carnival competitors, Rio de Janeiro and Recife, Salvador’s festival evoked both some limited adaptation of influences, and also rejection of others. In those two cities, the official carnivals were historically focused on celebrating different expressions of the Brazilian experience (racial democracy and national patriotism in Rio, unity in cultural diversity as well as regional pride in Recife) but drew on deep wells of tradition, local identity, and resistance to profound change at a variety of levels, all of which had helped distinguish Salvador’s carnival in the 1950s and after as based on novelty, innovation, and a more embracing—if still contradictory—discourse of popular participation.

In the case of Rio, a global city that was internationally famous for its own carnival since the late 1930s, it would be incautious to make too hard a case for the absorption of elements from Salvador, a peripheral city for much of Brazil’s modern history. Several years before the *axé* boom, Luiz Caldas was greeted skeptically by one metropolitan reviewer, suggesting he was an “exotic flower” that could only have

bloomed in Bahian soil and likely could not survive elsewhere.¹ The 1993 *Veja* article declaring Salvador's carnival victory included a brief "dictionary of Bahian words" to help inform the rest of the country how Bahians communicate.² And when in 1975 the Rio-based Association of Brazilian Samba Schools changed its name to the Association of Samba Schools of the City of Rio de Janeiro, at the institutional level this cut off Salvador's schools at a critical moment from the chance to benefit from the experience, clout and prestige of Rio's schools; there is no clear evidence of national organization and meetings of samba school representatives earlier, but by the mid-1970s, when Salvador's schools were confronting official challenges to their legitimacy, such a national entity might have provided a recourse for Salvador's samba activists. Instead, the schools died a slow death by being starved of funds, as well as by attrition of members to other carnival manifestations. But the institutional association between Rio de Janeiro and samba schools also reduced the possibility that Rio's samba schools would interact with peers from other states, hearing direct communication about the realities and developments affecting carnivals across the national landscape. A small but meaningful opportunity for Rio's own official carnival culture to become less isolated, less constrained by official parameters, and more nationally informed was lost.

Despite the logistical difficulties in creating a national union of samba schools, other factors might have been at work, including pride and a sense of superiority amongst Rio's schools in being the pioneers and the models around which schools across the country were based—unlike in the case of *bumba meu boi*, the *folgado* rooted in agricultural traditions and lifestyles, variations of which have been identified across

¹ "Bahia brinca ao som do rei do deboche."

² This act of pseudo-anthropological "othering" of Bahia has precedents in "Dialeto baiano," in the feature "Bahia," *Quatro Rodas* no. 41, December 1963, 64-113.

Brazil independently (and which thus still represents the ultimate symbol of Brazilian *folguedos* for folklorists). Samba school leaders are also fractious, leading to the continuing existence of several associations of schools even within Rio itself. The idea of a national union remains a tantalizing idea never realized. In such a medium, the samba schools as one entity would have had to debate and contend with diverse contexts of performance and reception in different locales—e.g., Gilberto Freyre’s rejection of Recife’s schools as potential conveyers of racial awareness and separatism, and Katarina Real’s concern that the schools’ aesthetics were rubbing off on *frevo* and altering its traditional character; or Sutura director Antonio Tourinho casting Salvador’s schools as poor copies of Rio’s even as the rhetoric of racial pride (which scholars such as Godi have searched in vain to find in the lyrics of Salvador’s samba school *enredos*) was about to be assumed by the *blocos afro*. If these critics argued that samba schools were “foreign” to their own carnivals, Rio’s schools would have had to participate in constructing arguments to the contrary—likely with the help of Carneiro while alive, and perhaps even the later involvement of Roberto da Matta, who took Rio’s carnival and the internal organization of the samba schools in particular—the subgroups’ balance of homogeneity and individuality, hierarchy and autonomy, tradition and spontaneity, order and transgression—as emblematic of the nation itself and how it “reclassifies” and redefines itself during carnival.³ However, Rio’s schools were focused on their own city.

But since the 1990s, Rio has seen numerous initiatives—private, public, and official—to reanimate its street carnival in such traditional festive districts as Lapa, Catete, and Cinelândia as a counterbalance to the spectacular televised parades in the Sambadrome, and the very expensive private balls accessible only to elites. Smaller-scale

³ Roberto da Matta, *Carnavais, Malandros e Heróis*, 95-105.

masked balls, *blocos*, wandering bands, and *ranchos* (considered a fundamental progenitor of the samba schools) have become increasingly popular around the city.⁴ Ironically, starting in 1993, this process was spurred by the fact that the principal beer companies were locked out of advertising directly in the Sambadrome by Globo, who held the transmission rights; in response, corporations such as Brahma, Skol, Antarctica, and Kaiser sought new sponsorship and advertising opportunities elsewhere in the city, which played into mayor César Maia's hopes to reinvigorate Rio's "popular" carnival of grassroots *blocos* and neighborhood balls.⁵ The recent emphasis on street carnival owes as much to the edifice of Rio's official parade as to competition from Salvador's festival.

Within the main samba school parade, in 1994, Mangueira made national headlines by adopting a theme based on Caetano Veloso's 1969 "Atrás do Trio Elétrico," substituting "Behind the Green and Pink" for the original "Behind the *trio elétrico*," a reference to the school's colors, and featuring the appearance during the parade of the Tropicalist Baianos Veloso, Gilberto Gil, Maria Bethânia, and Gal Costa.⁶ And in 1997, the samba school Viradouro won first place in carnival competition but triggered controversy with a non-typical hip-hop styled percussion interlude. Viradouro attributed the inspiration not to MTV, Rio's funk subculture, or any other dangerously foreign influences, but to Salvador's carnival—in particular, Olodum's reimagining of Brazil

⁴ A study of the history of the *ranchos*' culture production and interaction with the state, their complex relations with samba schools, and newer controversies surrounding their "resurrection" in contemporary Rio is provided by Renata de Sá Gonçalves, *Os Ranchos Pedem Passagem: O Carnaval do Rio de Janeiro do Começo de Século XX* (Rio de Janeiro: Prefeitura / Coleção Biblioteca Carioca, 2007).

⁵ "Guerra das cervejas," *O Globo*, 19 February 1993.

⁶ Mangueira's vice-president noted, "This theme is a great choice in the middle of the false war (*pretensa guerra*) between the carnivals of Rio de Janeiro and Bahia." Cover story: "Fala Mangueira," *Veja* 16 February 1994. That year Olodum also chose Tropicália as its carnival theme. In *The Mystery of Samba*, Hermano Vianna briefly discusses this incident and concludes: "Although most Brazilians now prefer the music of Olodum to that of Rio's samba schools, the carnival of Rio de Janeiro continues to be an agent of national unification" (107).

within the African diaspora.⁷ Contemporary themes such as poverty and black pride have been absorbed into some *enredo* themes, perhaps reflecting the influence of Salvador's *blocos afro* and their discourse of topical social issues. Outside carnival proper, samba bands and singers in Rio and São Paulo began in the early 1990s to experiment with introducing new sounds (such as the electric keyboard) and elements from other genres to their repertoire, which helped capture more of the youth market. The media praised the move, declaring "Today's samba has left the fixation on purity in the past where it belongs... and is becoming good business in the process."⁸

However, the city of Rio's enduring insistence on the rhetorical fable that the samba schools' participation springs forth each year as a spontaneous celebration somehow beyond the realities or demands of the marketplace has still led to ambiguous developments—as in 1993, when Brazil's President, Itamar Franco, declined attending the carnival competition of Rio's largest samba schools in order to avoid being photographed in the company of their notorious patrons, the powerful heads of gambling and organized crime.⁹ Even if the debate around the folkloric nature of the samba schools was a product of a previous age, elements of folklore—the idea of spontaneous, authentic culture performed by the people—still informs how the schools are viewed. The president's decision showed that the myth of the samba schools' "folkloric," non-market existence as an embodiment of national spirit remains an important aspect of the official consensus surrounding their significance—and it also showed who held the balance of power in actually preserving the continuity of Rio's carnival. A decade later, scholars and carnival activists complained to the international media that the drive both for money and

⁷ Charles A. Perrone, "Myth, Melopeia, and Mimesis," in Perrone & Dunn [eds.], *Brazilian Popular Music*.

⁸ "O samba da garoa," *Veja*, 20 January 1993.

⁹ "Itamar evita o Sambódromo para não encontrar bicheiros," *O Globo*, 23 February 1993.

for prestige among the top schools was such that some were opening their ranks to the wealthiest tourists, foreigners who could pay to experience participating in the actual parade itself even if they knew nothing of samba.¹⁰

The response to Salvador's carnival in Recife has proven both more enthusiastic, and more complicated. In 1983 Recife, animated public response to a *trio elétrico* mounted by Recife's city hall (and implemented at the same time the city was expanding its principal carnival routes to include wider central streets) led one of the major *frevo* clubs, Galo da Madrugada, to adopt a *trio elétrico* into their carnival shows.¹¹ It was stipulated by the club's president that the Galo's *trio* would play only "Pernambucan carnival songs and no music from elsewhere, especially Bahia." Andrade reports that the club's musicians responded to the *trio* with a range of views, both positive and negative.¹² Although others experimented with it, Galo da Madrugada became the only club in Recife to maintain its own *trio*—a fact often attributed to the economics involved (which only larger groups could absorb), but which also may suggest lingering ambivalent associations between *trios* and Bahian carnival. In the mid-2000s, city carnival organizers' attempt to raise the profile of *frevo* in the media by incorporating Bahian musicians and *trios* within Recife's carnival—a sort of mini-Bahian carnival—

¹⁰ "Carnival in Rio is dancing to a more traditional beat," *The New York Times*, 25 February 2003.

¹¹ The *trio*—not called by that name, but referred to as a *frevioca*—was first implemented in Recife in 1979 by the Fundação de Cultura da Cidade do Recife as a means to provide orchestral support and a carnival presence to local carnival clubs that lacked the resources to put together a complete *desfile*. It was a *trio* in all but name and musical details: a decorated truck with amplification equipment, featuring a *frevo* orchestra (strings and horns), electric guitar and bass, drums, and singer. All the musicians and necessary support personnel were employees of Recife's city hall. Cisneiro Soares de Andrade, "Galo da Madrugada: Mudanças Ocorridas nos Trinta Anos de Existência do Clube" (Masters thesis, Federal University of Paraíba, 2008), p. 95.

¹² The responses of the musicians reflected both practicalities and cultural values. Those who approved it liked that they could ride, "breathe better," and be more comfortable while being heard more easily thanks to amplification. Those who disapproved noted that the orchestras got smaller, completely changing the performance approach and putting some musicians out of work. But many musicians observed that with the growth of Recife's carnival, in terms of crowd size, space of the routes, and length of performance, the *trio* provided an advantage. Andrade, "Galo," 99-100.

was attempted, deemed unacceptable, and abandoned.¹³ At only a day's drive away, Salvador is perhaps too close for comfort to Recife, which has long considered itself the cultural capital of Brazil's northeast. Recife's guardians of tradition are keenly aware that for Salvador's carnival musicians, the "authentic" *frevo* of Recife has been only one element in an evolutionary and commercial synthesis, not a hallmark of local tradition.

Ambivalence over Bahian carnival influence in Recife has taken other forms. Katarina Real publicly praised the rise of *afoxés* in Recife's carnival in the late 1980s as proof of the festival's diversity and "incredible powers of integration," but privately she was highly critical of what she suggested was their derivative character, as well as their associations with divisive black consciousness-raising.¹⁴ One of the largest *micaretas* outside Bahia was in Recife: the Recifolia, instituted in the winter season starting in 1993, was visited by major acts such as Ivete Sangalo, Banda Eva, Chiclete Com Banana and Ara Ketu before it was abruptly canceled in 2003. Speculation as to why this *micareta* was canceled involves both simple politics—the Recifolia, initiated by a mayor of one political party, was halted when another political party took power—to deeper currents of antipathy toward the invasion of Recife by Salvador's carnival influence, at a time when Pernambuco's state cultural and tourism policy were emphasizing the production and marketing of local culture, narrowly defined.

A 1968 article in a Recife paper describing the "high points" of Salvador's carnival ignored the *trio* phenomenon altogether, even though Recife's carnival had been visited by both Dodô and Osmar and Tapajós within the decade before, to emphasize the

¹³ Andrade, "Galo," p. 98.

¹⁴ Real, *O Folclore no Carnaval do Recife*, 200-1; letter to Dr. Roberto Magalhães Mello, 24 March 1998, KR CEp1 doc 17 (FJN, KRCEp1doc.1/20).

official judged parade of *afoxés*, *blocos*, *cordões*, and samba schools.¹⁵ Later, in the early 1970s, what was rather genially termed by Recife's press a "friendly competition" with Bahian *frevo* composers associated with *trios elétrico* was cited as stimulating local production, including inducing stalwart Pernambucan composer Capiba to experiment with Afro-Brazilian themes (the *orixás*) in a *frevo*.¹⁶ But that amiability soon gave way to concerns over protecting the homefront from "invasion" that recalled earlier worries over the encroaching samba schools in Recife. Indeed, in the 1980s and '90s, the spectre of a Bahian stranglehold on both Recife's carnival-music creativity and its radio presence produced indignant debates over the future vitality of *frevo* itself—debates starting before the *axé boom*, suggesting Pernambucan radio was already heavily favoring Salvador's musical experiments to the detriment of broadcasting local carnival music.¹⁷ In response, the state tourism agency reinvigorated longstanding claims regarding both the unique cultural diversity of Recife's carnival, and the spontaneity and social democracy fueled by *frevo*, values which were now cast in clear contradistinction with Salvador's explosion of private, cord-bearing *blocos de trio*.¹⁸ The situation also led some to call for an outright prohibition on Bahian *trios elétrico* and their music in Recife's carnival.¹⁹ A ban

¹⁵ "Desfiles foram o ponto alto no carnaval da Bahia," *Jornal do Commercio* (Recife), 29 February 1968.

¹⁶ "Carnaval Pernambuco," *Jornal do Commercio* (Recife), 20 January 1974.

¹⁷ A round table of musicians, criticizing both the centralization of the mass media and a passive attitude in Pernambuco toward defending local tradition, decided to organize to lobby the stations for more air time for local culture, and to stage public events featuring local music. "Compositores fazem pacto para tentar defender frevo," *Diário de Pernambuco*, 02 February 1989.

¹⁸ See, e.g., the full-page newspaper advertisement from Empetur (Empresa Pernambucana de Turismo) entitled "Em Pernambuco, carnaval é frevo e muito mais," *Diário de Pernambuco*, 01 February 1989: "Women with children, young and old, independent of social position, fill the streets and squares following their favorite clubs... Nothing is more democratic, spontaneous, or enjoyable. Pernambucan carnival is in the air, the faith, and the participation of the people."

¹⁹ "Xicote, Dança da Galinha, Xuxa... E o Frevo?" (*Diário de Pernambuco*, 29 January 1989); "Música Baiana Não é uma Ameaça. O Frevo Cresce" (*Jornal do Commercio*, 25 January 1993); "Recifolia: A história de inesquecíveis festas!"

<http://turismopebrasil.wordpress.com/2010/11/02/recifolia-a-historia-de-inesqueciveis-festas/>, accessed 13 September 2010.

on Bahian music was briefly implemented, but in 2010, on the 60th anniversary of Dodô and Osmar's invention, Recife's carnival featured thirty of its own *trios elétrico*, playing new and old *frevo*s alongside classic Bahian *frevo*s from Dodô and Osmar and from Moraes Moreira,²⁰ who had earlier adapted Recife as a second carnival home after clashing with Salvador's tourism department and carnival administrations in the 2000s. With this gesture, Recife both took advantage of its status as progenitor of the world-famous invention (domesticating the *trio* by having only local musicians perform local music), and celebrated the powers of integration of local carnival.

But Recife as well as other Brazilian cities have occasionally turned to prohibitions on the *trio* vehicles themselves as being heavy, physically enormous and painfully loud, hence detrimental to humans and urban structures. Andrade notes the concern that *trios* are simply too large for streets in the carnival circuit in parts of historic Recife,²¹ and the city banned them from the middle-class beachfront district of Boa Viagem in 1989.²² *Trio* vehicles have never been permitted in the nearby city of Olinda, whose narrow cobblestone streets and colonial-era architecture, taken as World Heritage by UNESCO, were deemed unable to accommodate their size. Similarly, the high volume level emitted by contemporary *trios* has led to their prohibition in the historic center of Goiás in Goiás state, also a UNESCO World Heritage Site (it was determined that loud music presented a risk to the integrity of buildings).²³ Since 1998, city inspectors armed with decibel meters have roamed Salvador's streets during carnival checking the volume of *trios*, and citing those who exceed established limits. But recent research published in

²⁰ "A mancha de dendê no carnaval do Recife," *Estadão* (Recife) 14 February 2010.

²¹ Andrade, "Galo," 108.

²² "Carnaval e violência," *Jornal do Commercio* (Recife), 04 February 1989.

²³ "Carnaval de Goiás Não Permitiu Trios Elétricos no Centro Histórico," Rádio Nacional 17 February 2010 (http://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/home/-/journal_content/56/19523/182665). Accessed 12 May 2011.

the scientific and popular press²⁴ into the effects of the *trios* on the ear (volumes can reach the sound of a jet take-off, heard from two meters away, which is as close as many celebrants and musicians are to speakers during carnival) confirm the judgments of some that *axé music* has indeed become “noise pollution,” a monster whose human victims include not only the innocent but its performers themselves.

For Salvador, the old cliché proves true: if it is hard to achieve the number-one position, it is harder to maintain it. In 2009, carnival led to a series of embarrassments for the city: corporate investors were angered that *bloco* sponsors received far more visibility in TV coverage than they did, and that the city had promised, leading to brooding speculations that national broadcasters were actively filtering out images of the official sponsors’ brands to vex the city. Meanwhile, research indicated that few revelers were even aware of what the carnival theme was, much less who the city’s sponsors were.²⁵ Such poor communication and advertising results posed a real challenge for future private fundraising, while there was grassroots complaining that the city lost money on carnival that year. The SEI study suggesting that less than a quarter of residents participated in carnival that year was met with consternation in SalTur, and with the response that people who were at home watching the festival on television should also be counted as “participating” in the festival since they were consuming it through mass media.²⁶

By as early as the late 1990s, *axé music* was entering into a sort of local crisis of conscience reflected externally in wavering sales. Initially, some scholars and black

²⁴ “Um Estudo Comparativo Sobre os Efeitos da Exposição à Música em Músicos de Trio Elétricos,” *Revista Brasileira de Otorrinolaringologia* vol. 61 #6, November-December 1995; “Tome Mais Cuidado com o Som Alto,” Agência Folha / São Paulo, published in *A Tarde* (Salvador) 15 February 2004.

²⁵ It might have added to the confusion that after 2006, the phrase “The Heart of the World Beats Here” had been adopted as a slogan of carnival itself above and beyond the annual themes, such as *afoxés*, *capoeira*, and 60 years of the *trio elétrico*, leading to an overabundance of symbols each year.

²⁶ *Diagnóstico Mercadológico do Carnaval de 2009*, 9.

activists complained that *axé* represented a “white recuperation” of the implicitly political, imminently danceable percussive sound of the *blocos afro*. At one level that is undeniable, yet at the same time, the deep pockets of the major *blocos de trio* and *trio* artists helped provide lucrative employment to Afro-Bahian culture producers—the composers, drummers, and dancers accustomed to working for a pittance (or for free) for even the top *blocos afro*, such as Ilê Aiyê.²⁷ But observers were also alleging that *axé* became a commercial formula whose lyric material and musical tropes had not changed since the late 1980s. In 2007, a Bahia state Secretary of Culture publication on the carnival economy noted that the festival’s highest levels of “visibility and earning power” had come in 2003-4; reasons for the recent decline included “the almost complete hegemony of one musical style... and the hierarchy of the *blocos de trio*” who recirculate it continually around the year.²⁸

While Bahian sociologist Milton Moura writes recently that “*axé music*, having incorporated *pagode* and other new developments, is still dominant in the mass-mediated carnival,”²⁹ numerous critics assert that on the whole the form has stagnated, frozen in time, with no new meanings or potential cultural value left to offer—becoming, it would

²⁷ Peter Wade, analyzing how scholars have viewed the “cleaning up and modernizing” of music associated with subalterns in Latin America, warns that although the idea of appropriation (by and for the middle class, as part of a nationalist project) gives “a general sense of a common trajectory, it is important not to oversimplify the processes involved. It is necessary, first, to appreciate the syncretic nature of the lower-class forms, which fed off a host of different musical currents... Second, it is necessary to appreciate that the music that is modernized and nationalized has to be defined against something else that remains putatively traditional and nonnational.” Wade, *Music, Race, and Nation*, 8. Armstrong (“Aesthetic Escape Hatch,” 85, 90) suggests that in Salvador, carnival is the ultimate symbol of *baianidade*’s “celebration of miscegenation, insistence on the right of access to afro-Bahian cultural currents of persons regardless of race, and power of rhetoric suggesting felicitous racial camaraderie... The protagonist of *baianidade* is not so much a people as a societal locus, a Utopian discourse which transcends the genuine woes of historical experience.”

²⁸ *Carnaval 2007: Uma Festa de Meio Bilhão de Reais* (Secretaria de Cultura do Estado da Bahia, 2007), 5.

²⁹ Moura, “World of Fantasy,” p. 170.

seem, post-modern urban “folklore” in the pejorative sense.³⁰ The public appears divided. A large fan base remains, but sales have slowed; and in an upswell against *axé music*’s formulaicness, lascivious double entendres and technical simplicity, music enthusiasts in Bahia and around Brazil now take to the Internet to post vehement diatribes in blogs and other forums declaiming *axé* as “trash culture (*lixo cultural*).”

Some prominent musicians, such as Daniela Mercury and Caetano Veloso, respond that such criticisms are pointless because *axé music* can mean anything: it is less a specific genre than a broad approach rooted in hybridity, a multiracialism particular to Bahia but emblematic of Brazil as a whole, and a sensitivity to dance rhythms and carnival freedom. Among the avid music-consuming public in Salvador, there is a sense that something is about to shift, but no one knows how or when; until then, apparent signs of disloyalty to *axé* have been met with hostility. Mercury’s recent attempts to introduce new influences such as rap and electronica to her own *axé music* compositions were largely rebuffed by fans and critics alike—and taken as evidence that she was trying to distance herself from *axé*, which she denied.³¹ One scholar suggests that Mercury and other top stars who invest in producing younger acts that experiment with different styles do so less to support those amateurs than as a way to test the waters of popularity for the next big thing that they could then appropriate as the next commercial trend.³² Carlinhos

³⁰ This does not qualify as anonymous in the way folklorists understand the term, but a scandal erupted in 2000 when it was rumored that many top Bahian composers preferred to write *axé* lyrics under pseudonyms because of the music’s associations with simplicity and bad taste. An *A Tarde* editor noted that “the allegation casts doubt on the genuine character of the cultural manifestation.” Suzana Vajão, “Axé-Music, Ghost-Music?” *A Tarde* (Salvador), 25 June 2006.

³¹ “Daniela Mercury Critica Lei ‘Antijabá’ e Compara Download a Assalto,” *Folha Online* 19 December 2006. Caetano Veloso suggested it was a “lie” to try to distinguish the *blocos afro* as being “authentic” and popular singers such as Ivete Sangalo as “*axé*, commercial, artificial... It’s all *axé music*.” “Caetano Faz Show de Rock e Diz que na Bahia Tudo é Axé,” *A Tarde* (Salvador), 13 April 2007.

³² Pinto, “Como a Cidade de Salvador,” 85.

Brown acknowledges the problems with *axé music*, but says that nothing better has come along: “If you have another style that can replace *axé*, let’s hear it!”³³

However, the ubiquity of *axé music*, and a growing sense that it represents a seductive threat to the practices and values of local culture, has raised hackles in various places. In 2009, three historic cities in Minas Gerais—Ouro Preto, Mariana and São João Del Rey—prohibited it (along with funk, rock, and *sertanejo* from Brazil’s rural center) from their carnivals. Recalling older debates about rock music, a recent online news article makes the argument that these genres are associated with an undesirable type of public.³⁴ Even within Bahia itself, there have been moves by small interior communities in the state to “protect” their festivals and other popular culture from carnivalization by *axé music* and the *trios* by banning them outright.³⁵

Folklore’s Ghosts?

In the mid-2000s, Salvador borrowed a page from Recife’s playbook and began to rhetorically emphasize the multiculturalism and diversity of its carnival. The 2006 theme was “The Heart of the World Beats Here,” with the mayor declaring that through carnival “Salvador is transformed into to the capital of cultural diversity, with all the magic of Bahia.”³⁶ Well before that, in 1998, even as Antonio Carlos Magalhães was praising

³³ “P & R: Carlinhos Brown,” *Rolling Stone Brasil*, December 2007, 28.

³⁴ “Axé Music está Proibido de ser Tocado em Cidades e Minas Gerais,” *Sistema o Dia* 05 February 2009 (<http://www.sistemaodia.com/noticias/axe-music-esta-proibido-de-ser-tocado-em-cidades-de-minas-gerais-9933.html>, accessed 11 May 2011.). The piece alleges that young people favor these genres, especially young tourists, who are known to spend little money and have less respect for local historic patrimony.

³⁵ “Procurador quer Proibir Axé no São João,” *Bahianoticias.com* 27 May 2009. (<http://www.bahianoticias.com.br/noticias/2009/5/27/noticia.html#>, accessed 11 May 2011); “MPT quer Proibir Apresentação de Artistas do Axé em Festas Juninas,” *A Tarde* (Salvador) 27 May 2009. São João and the June Festivals are considered cultural patrimony; the prohibitions argued that Salvador’s carnival elements would interfere with or “de-characterize” them.

³⁶ 2006 carnival program, archived at SalTur, Salvador, Bahia.

carnival's consolidation into a festive ritual of civic entrepreneurialism,³⁷ the president of the city's tourism department was working to "revive" older carnival forms (including small orchestras, parades, and samba ensembles) that she said had been "suffocated" by the *blocos de trio*—and this was only five years after the *axé* boom.³⁸ SalTur had noted that foreign tourists in particular enjoyed the smaller-scale carnival events in Pelourinho, which, with its street bands, grassroots texture, and spontaneous parades, seemed reminiscent of carnival celebrations in Europe, New Orleans, and the Caribbean.³⁹ But in other ways, various actors are contributing to ensure that the carnival maintains a recognizably Brazilian identity, as well as elements of the ideals of popular participation that first made Salvador's carnival famous. In historical context, one of the most striking developments in Salvador's contemporary festival is not its expansive internationalism but the return of samba, in force, in the late 2000s. 2009 carnival saw the official participation of 22 local samba groups, as well as performances by famed Rio-based *sambista* Dudu Nobre (a solo artist associated in the past with the schools Acadêmicos de Salgueiro and Mocidade Independente de Padre Miguel).⁴⁰ Some groups performed in the official circuit on *trios*, but there is also a dedicated "samba stage" mounted in Praça da Sé, formerly home of the official judging platform. The grassroots resurgence in samba transcends carnival, with Salvador's Gregório de Mattos Foundation providing support to local samba schools in 2010 to facilitate their participation in the state independence day (*Dois de Julho*) celebration. A generation after samba was deemed inauthentic to

³⁷ "Bahian carnival grows each year, and demonstrates to Brazil and the world that Bahians know how to work and play with enthusiasm and competence," he enthused. "Líderes baianos homenageados por artistas e foliões," *Correio da Bahia*, 25 February 1998.

³⁸ "Circuitos alternativos fazem folia como nos velhos tempos," *Correio da Bahia*, 25 February 1998.

³⁹ *Diagnóstico Mercadológico do Carnaval de 2009*, 16.

⁴⁰ "Samba 2009," notebook archived at SalTur, Salvador, Bahia.

Salvador's carnival, the tide reversed. In another dramatic reversal, recent carnivals have seen *trio* megastars such as Daniela Mercury and Chiclete Com Banana conceding one performance each during the festival to the anonymous, humble mass of revelers by parading without a rope. This followed a series of exposé articles on the high numbers of so-called poor revelers excluded from the private *blocos de trio*; authors often adopted a negative tone on what this revealed about Salvador's carnival and its society.⁴¹

In certain ways, ghosts of the midcentury folklore movement seem to hover around new initiatives to protect carnival entities seen as at risk. The state has gotten involved to help Afro-Bahian groups, especially the *afoxés* and *blocos afro* but also local samba schools, percussion groups, and *blocos de índio*, who have all been largely passed over by private sponsors and who cannot compete with the volume level of the *trios* (leading to their being assigned to parade times and spaces distant from the corporate, media-favored, "white" *blocos de trio*⁴²). The *Ouro Negro* (Black Gold) initiative was instituted by the Bahian Secretary of Culture in 2008, providing some limited funding to 104 carnival groups that year; 117 in 2009; and 120 groups in 2010. That year, a total of

⁴¹ In "Na Periferia da Cena do Carnaval de Salvador" (*A Tarde* [Salvador] 12 February 2006), sociologist Milton Moura notes that the *pipoca* "normally is darker, poorer, and less educated, and thus does not correspond to the Apollonian norms of beauty that continue to overtake the carnival of Bahia... the basic problem is the relentless commercialization of carnival." It should be noted that *A Tarde* is generally conservative in tone but adapts a more or less critical perspective of local cultural and social issues depending on the political party in power at the time. The paper was strongly negative towards the renovation of Pelourinho headed by Antonio Carlos Magalhães in the early 1990s.

⁴² At the time of writing, musician and activist Carlinhos Brown (along with the League of *Blocos Afros* of Bahia) is proposing to mayor João Henrique the creation of a new, alternative carnival route for *blocos afro* and *afoxés*. With a name recalling Rio's Sambadrome, or Sambadrome, the route would be called Afródromo (Afrodrome), and would occupy 25 kilometers in the Comercio district of Salvador's lower city. While a clearly progressive venture in some senses, especially given the proposals for dedicated reggae and samba stages and free public bleachers for up to 20,000 viewers, the idea also is reminiscent of "separate but equal" debates in race relations in the United States and further underscores the realities of social exclusion that have become structured into Salvador's carnival of popular participation.

R\$4.96 million *reais* were distributed, compared to R\$3.6 million in 2008.⁴³ The program counts on the involvement of SEBRAE (Brazilian Support Service for Micro and Small Businesses) to help train the selected carnival groups in administration, marketing, and accounting to ensure, as Bahian SEBRAE director Edival Passos said, that “these entities can take economic advantage of their cultural production, raising its value within Bahian society and among the national and foreign tourists who come to enjoy our carnival.”⁴⁴ It is difficult to verify independently, but Ouro Negro might be partly responsible for what appears to be notable increases in both *afoxés* and *blocos afro* in Salvador’s carnival between 2007 and 2008 (from 14 to 17 and 55 to 64, respectively).⁴⁵

The program, in demonstrating broader institutional interest and commitment to these manifestations as well as providing some seed money (not nearly enough to fully underwrite a carnival parade), would seem to resonate with Edison Carneiro’s advice for carefully intervening to stimulate folkloric *folguedos* with “discretion and liberty” along with providing a little bit of financial help—or better, he thought, material contributions of instruments, costumes et cetera; Carneiro also urged finding the oldest, most experienced people with traditional knowledge of the *folguedo* to encourage their involvement and leadership.⁴⁶ Yet the selection procedures of Ouro Negro for awarding funds were different. Groups were awarded points based on how they measured up along eight criteria; the higher the point total, the greater the size of the subsidy awarded.⁴⁷

However, rather than trying to determine which groups were more “authentic,” the

⁴³ *Relatório do Carnaval de 2009; Catálogo Carnaval Ouro Negro 2011 (3rd edition)*; “Carnaval Ouro Negro: Programa Apoio,” Ouro Negro Website: http://www.carnavalouronegro.ba.gov.br/programa_apoio.php, accessed 13 May 2012.

⁴⁴ “Carnaval Ouro Negro: Programa Apoio.”

⁴⁵ “Quadro evolutivo das entidades participantes do carnaval 1997-2009,” *Relatório do Carnaval de 2009*.

⁴⁶ Carneiro, “Proteção e Restauração dos Folguedos Populares.”

⁴⁷ These categories and various point weightings are broken down in the *Relatório do Carnaval de 2010*, which also included a list of the top winners that year.

parameters explicitly equated the “Year of Foundation” with “Tradition,” awarding the most points to groups founded before 1979. Similarly, the largest groups, in terms of number of participants or members, received the most points, as did the groups with previous carnival experience on more than one official circuit and those who survived through funds obtained by selling memberships (rather than relying on sponsorships or public subsidies). The final criterion, “Notoriety,” awarded thirty points to groups known internationally and only ten points to groups with a local profile.

Obviously the values at play in how Ouro Negro selects Afro-Bahian carnival groups to award subsidies differed from purely folkloric or cultural considerations of the groups’ significance. The program seems designed less to protect or preserve the different types of manifestations by fostering broader participation in new groups and allowing them the “liberty” of folkloric transformation than to ensure that the oldest and largest groups maintain hegemonic dominance to define the identity of the type and gain access to professional opportunities. At the same time, it looked approvingly on processes of modernization, such as the incorporation of *trio* sound trucks into some of the *blocos de índio*.⁴⁸ The 2011 schedule of groups that benefitted from Ouro Negro included a variety of lesser known samba and reggae bands and *blocos de índio* alongside such well-known Afro-Bahian carnival institutions as Oludum, Malê Debalê, Muzenza, and Ilê Aiyê.⁴⁹ An *afoxé* or *bloco afro* that was already established not only in terms of scale and years of activity but international reputation and a degree of market participation was viewed as the ideal recipient of support. The involvement of SEBRAE in furthering their professionalization and commercialization suggests that the intention of the program is to

⁴⁸ *Catálogo Carnaval Ouro Negro 2011 (3rd edition)*, 111.

⁴⁹ *Carnaval Ouro Negro Programação 2011*.

ultimately launch these groups out of the network of dependency on public subsidies altogether for the autonomy of the free market. The capitalist values of professionalization are eagerly embraced. Vovô, founder and director of Ilê Aiyê (the *bloco afro* that formed as a group of friends, and entered spontaneously into carnival in 1975), affirmed in 2003 that “Carnival is serious. There’s no room for amateurs.”⁵⁰

But recently, Bahia’s Institute for Artistic and Cultural Patrimony (IPAC) launched two initiatives that take different approaches to defining and protecting the state’s carnival culture. IPAC’s official mission is to “act in an integrated form and in cooperation with society, in the safeguarding of tangible and intangible assets and the fomenting of cultural practices for the strengthening of identities in the state of Bahia,” and it hopes also to raise social awareness of local culture to inspire a greater general commitment to the state’s patrimony and memory.⁵¹ In 2009, IPAC designated the “Procession of the *Afoxés*” an expression of intangible patrimony, and entered it into the state’s Book of Special Registration of Events and Celebrations in 2010 (decree n. 12.484 of 29 November 2010) described as “a manifestation of the culture of the *terreiros de candomblé* that occurs annually during the carnival of Salvador.”⁵² Implicitly, this action also recognized the powers of Salvador’s carnival as a venue to maintain the expression of uniquely significant and traditional state heritage alongside the glitz and business strategies of the *blocos de trio*. It stands in uneasy coexistence, however, with the Ouro

⁵⁰ Vovô appears speaking on a Bahiatursa promotional video, *A Indústria do Carnaval* (IRDEB, 2003).

⁵¹ The institution in its current form was officialized in 2003, linked to the Secretary of Culture and Tourism. IPAC Website, <http://www.ipac.ba.gov.br> (accessed 13 August 2012). The approach of “safeguarding” traditional culture at risk (*salvaguarda*) is common among Brazilian cultural heritage institutions; the national Institute of National Historical and Artistic Patrimony (IPHAN) adopted it several years earlier as a method to protect *jongo* in the southeast.

⁵² *Relatório de Atividades do IPAC – 2010*, 16. Recognition of the procession of the *afoxés* was preceded by that of another “immaterial asset” that year, the Festival of Boa Morte in Cachoeira. See also *Cadernos do IPAC 4: Desfile de Afoxés* (IPAC, 2010).

Negro subsidy and professionalization program, which gave assistance to 26 *afoxés* in 2011, including Filhos de Gandhi. The benefits of recognition of the *afoxés* by IPAC include historical studies and field research as well as the recording of performances and interviews, and the preparation of educational material for schools, universities, and the public (through television distribution, seminars, et cetera). Creation of such archives and the increase in prestige and societal awareness of the *afoxés* are obviously of great importance; but it is unclear how those initiatives to frame the the *afoxés* as state heritage to be safeguarded will interact with the effects of Ouro Negro, which is designed to foster cultural professionalism and the entrepreneurial vision that such cultural patrimony is also a marketable commodity to be “sold” to consumers and tourists. In a sense, this paradox captures the situation increasingly facing traditional culture worldwide, from Guatemala and Mexico to Bali, in which globalization and market forces make “authenticity” a form of leverage that presents both challenges and opportunities to the identities and practices of diverse peoples.⁵³

At the same time that IPAC was giving legitimacy to one aspect of Salvador’s carnival, however, it was also clearly turning away from that carnival in search of more authentic festival culture in the state. Starting in 2007, IPAC’s researchers were exploring the carnival of Maragogipe, a small (population est. 42,000) town in the Bahian Recôncavo, 130 kilometers from Salvador. There, although *trios elétrico* had been part of the local scene since 1957, they had not fully transformed Maragogipe’s carnival into a poor copy of Salvador’s. According to IPAC’s 2010 study of the festival, it had

⁵³ Néstor García Canclini, *Transforming Modernity: Popular Culture in Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993); Walter E. Little, *Mayas in the Marketplace: Tourism, Globalization, and Cultural Identity* (University of Texas Press, 2004); Michel Picard, “Cultural Heritage and Tourist Capital: Cultural Tourism in Bali,” in *International Tourism: Identity and Change*, eds. Marie-Francoise Lanfant, John B. Allcock and Edward Bruner (London: Sage, 1995).

successfully “absorbed new tendencies into a dialogue with existing manifestations of revelry.”⁵⁴ These included small wandering bands, but also the traditional, artisanal construction of elaborate costumes (*caretas*) and *papier mache* masks, characteristic practices viewed as presently at risk through the influx of cheap, ready-made costumes available for purchase in stores. IPAC praises Maragojipe’s carnival for having resisted the influence of Salvador’s “modern carnival, a festival-product commanded by the *blocos de trio*,” instead maintaining practices that were both locally specific and more expressive of what global carnival itself was taken to symbolize: “Utilizing masks permits attaining supreme liberty... The individual cedes place to a persona, that facilitates and encourages the representation of diverse characteristics... This gives social meaning to the disorder and transgression of carnival, in which there are no morals or ethics per sé but only the spirit of fantasy and the burlesque engaging society.”⁵⁵

In affirming the importance of resisting Salvador carnival’s commercialization for a different form of popular participation rooted in local communal identity, and the traditional artistry of mask-making—all within a more universal concept of carnival based on masquerade and the freedom of role-playing—IPAC indicates that genuine carnival is to be sought outside Salvador. It is precisely the way Maragojipe ostensibly blends influences from both global carnival tradition and local culture that distinguishes it from Salvador’s “festival-product.” IPAC’s rhetoric and initiatives demonstrate that the search for the location of true, authentic carnival in Brazil continues unabated.

⁵⁴ *Cadernos do IPAC, 3 – Carnaval de Maragojipe* (IPAC, 2010), 41.

⁵⁵ *Cadernos do IPAC, 3 – Carnaval de Maragojipe*, 41-2.

Appendix: Audio Examples

This list represents a selection of representative songs and sounds discussed in the text. Versions available on the Internet may not be the original, based on whether vinyl recordings were re-released on digital form. Internet sites also favor live performance.

Banda Reflexus. “Madagascar Olodum.”

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XWsoJijsbOY>

Caldas, Luiz. “Fricote.” <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cSqyJYQexdo>

“Carnaval de Pernambuco: *Frevo*, Vassourinhas.”

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LafMRGg9E0o>

Gerônimo. “Eu Sou Negão.” <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dPPLwykIt68>

Filhos de Gandhi, Carnival 2012.

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zJS_cuApUzM&feature=related

Ilê Aiyê. “O Mais Belo dos Belos.”

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rNJEJXFQOAK&feature=related>

Mercury, Daniela. “O Canto da Cidade.”

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uLGc9HyyEAK>

-----, “O Mais Belo dos Belos.”

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IBaYYDibsZk&feature=related>

Olodum. “Faraó Divindade do Egito.” <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5cSpCMwlNhk>

Portela Samba School Parade 2007. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FXILTEOX-Bs>

Trio Elétrico Dodô & Osmar. “Chame Gente.”

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qZdQcAb9riA>

-----, “Jubileu de Prata.” <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nEs9e36tcTA>

-----, “É a Massa.” <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BXAv0kZOUTs>

Veloso, Caetano. “Atrás do Trio Elétrico.”

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sd99sII8Jzk>

-----, “Chuva, Suor e Cerveja.”

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PhFxuVUMFn8&feature=relmfu>

GLOSSARY

Abadá. Official costume for members of private *blocos de trio* (see below).

Afoxé. Urban Afro-Brazilian street procession occurring during carnival and other festivals, often presenting a secular manifestation of syncretic religious culture.

Alegria. “Happiness” in Brazilian Portuguese, often with connotations of ecstasy.

Axé music. A phrase to capture a hybrid approach to musical style that originated in Salvador in the mid-late 1980s, based on local Afro-Bahian rhythm and percussion elements, Caribbean rhythms, and global pop music formats.

Baianidade. A complex of discourses, identity markers, and cultural practices associated with the state of Bahia; one of its hallmarks is the aversion to open social conflict and the celebration of Bahian history, culture, and uniqueness.

Blocos afro. Bahian carnival groups after 1974 rooted in Afro-Bahian solidarity, often emphasizing themes of black consciousness and pride in a mythologized African past.

Blocos de trio. A private carnival club and its administrative apparatus in Salvador, whose central attraction is its associated *trio elétrico* (see below).

Folgedos. General term for ritualized folkloric practices that moved through space as well as time: informal processions, parades, running / chasing, street theater. The *folgedos* were adopted by mid-century Brazilian folklorists as the ultimate symbol of Brazil’s continuing cultural formation.

Frevo. Syncopated instrumental music featuring wind, brass, and military percussion performed by ambulant bands, a traditional feature of carnival in Recife.

Maracatu. Perhaps a variant of the *afoxé* that is specific to Recife, the *maracatu* conveys themes of both African history and Brazil’s slave past through percussive music and call-and-response singing; like that of the *afoxés*, the carnival performance of the *maracatu* is thought to be a ludic display of Afro-Brazilian mysticism.

Samba-reggae. A music style associated with Salvador’s *blocos afro* (see above), based on an orchestra of percussion (sometimes augmented by horns or bass guitar, keyboard and other pop instruments) and hybridizing a slow samba rhythm with Caribbean accents.

Surdo. Large bass drum used in samba schools and in *blocos afro* (*surdo* means “deaf” in Portuguese, implying the drum can be felt as clearly as heard).

Trio elétrico. Originally three people playing electric instruments in Salvador’s carnival, circa 1952. Later it came to refer to the vehicle itself on which amplified bands perform.

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